

**R. K. Nayak
H. Y. Siddiqui**

**SOCIAL WORK
AND
SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT**





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R.K. Nayak
H.Y. Siddiqui

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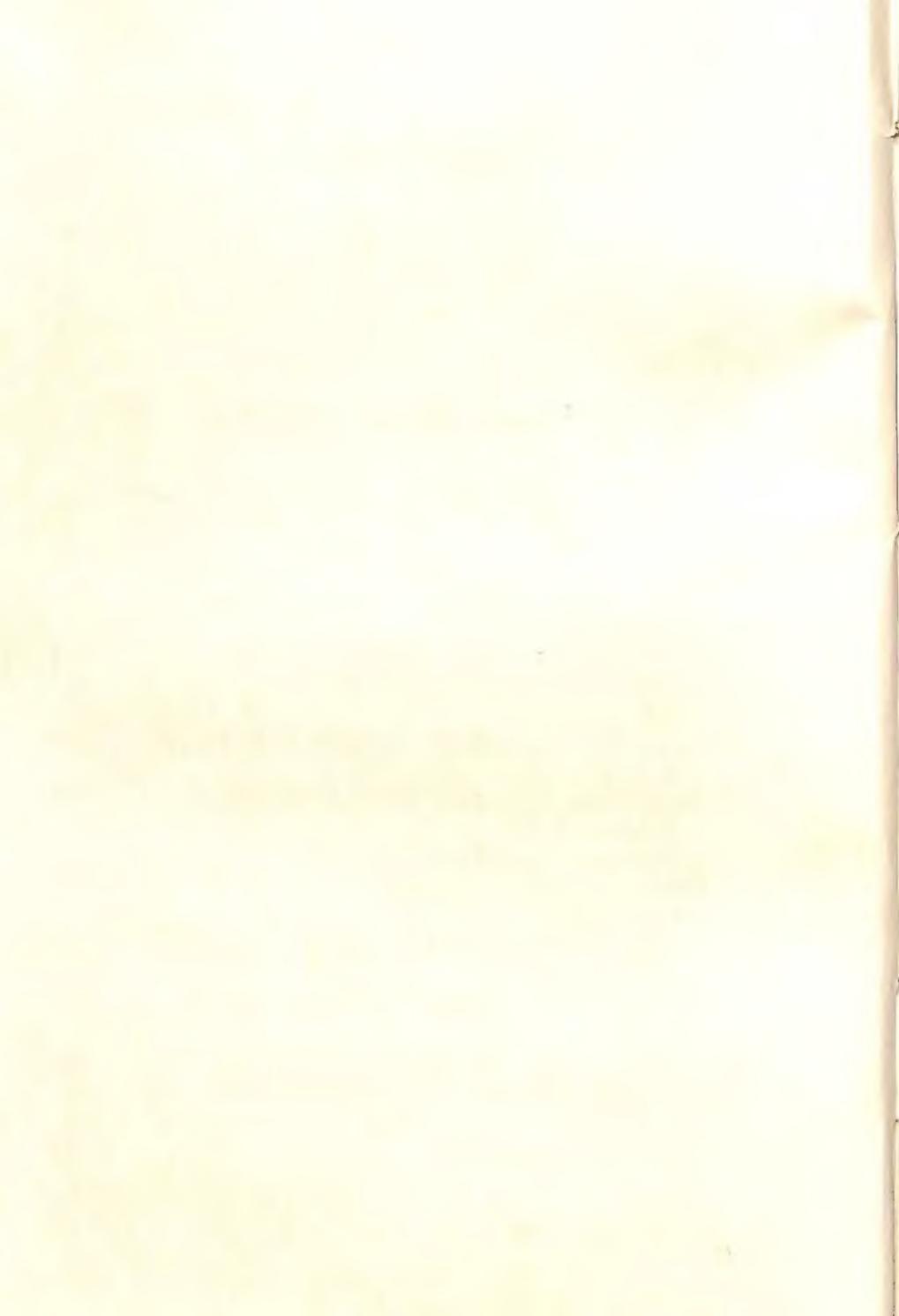
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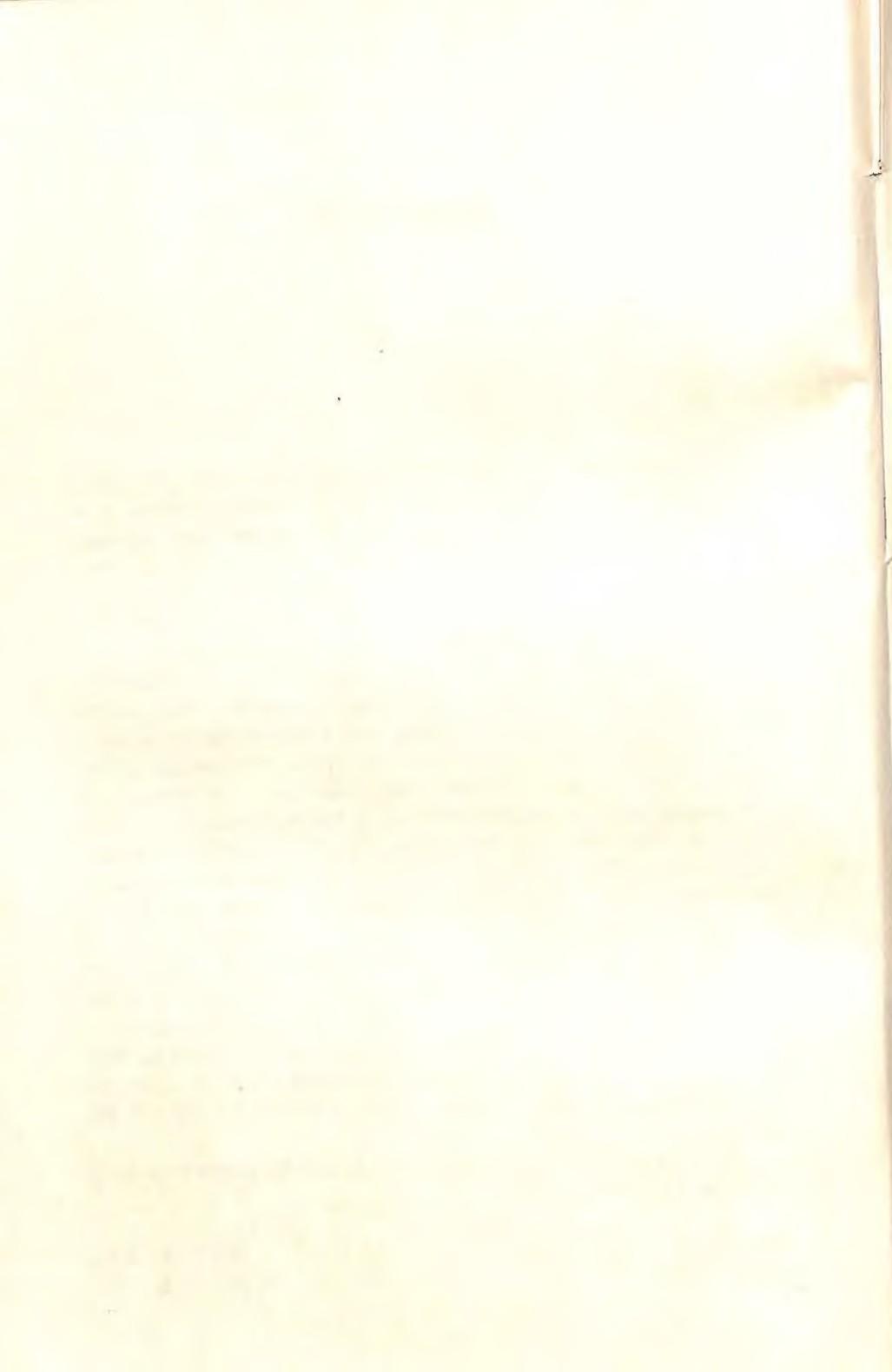
PREFACE

Social work is still trying to come to grip with the complex social milieu in which it has to function in India. During the fifty years of its existence in India it has succeeded in convincing some sections of the society about the relevance of its contribution in dealing with the social and individual pathologies. Yet it has to go a long way in convincing its own members about their own role in society which they can perform with a certain degree of confidence. In contemporary social work, criticism and dissatisfaction with social work education is matched by equally strong defences, explanations and rationalizations of the present mode of social work education. Issues such as the purpose of training, curriculum content, mode of field work, selection of students and methods of assessing their achievements during the course of training, have generated intense debates. The debates reflect the divergence of opinion and a tendency to question the established patterns of social work education and the subsequent role of social workers in dealing with serious problems. The papers that form this book were presented in a seminar on Social Work Education held in Bhubaneswar in 1986 except for the two by Nayak and Siddiqui which were written later and were presented in an International Seminar on 'Social Work Education' held in China in 1988. Hopefully the collection of papers will make a useful contribution in shaping the future course of social work education in the country.

We are grateful to all the contributors for the pains they took to revise their papers.

New Delhi
March 1989

NAYAK, R.K.
SIDDIQUI, H.Y.



INTRODUCTION

Today is all our yesterdays, as well as this moment in time when we try to fulfil while we are able our dreams for the future, in order that future may be in some way better, nearer to the heart's desire, than the past or the present: yet the future will be largely determined by our foresight, by what we do and think and discover today.

Eileen Young Husband recalls with nostalgia, traditionally, social work and social workers were associated with poverty, with the problem of how to secure for the poor essential goods and services without at the same time pauperizing them. To Thomas Chalmers, Octavia Hill, the Barnetts and the COS pioneers what the poor really needed was a continuing friendship and a type of pastoral care which would nerve them to take arms against a sea of troubles and by contending end them. The fact that no amount of contending would enable a widow to bring up her children decently or an unemployed man to find work was left to others to demonstrate with the aid of a passion for social reform and new tools of scientific research. It is strange indeed that Chalmers and the COS were so very right at the same time that they were so very wrong (Young Husband, 1964).

The social work was thus as Eileen herself summed up shockingly paternalistic, moralistic and authoritarian to begin with and then gradually it learnt to be more sophisticated in its approach by beginning to advise rather than work for people. It was only in the second phase of the development of social work profession in the West that social workers started to identify themselves as the experts in human relationships and look for areas which they could claim as their own in the expanding network of social services in

the West. In India the social work arrived at this stage and ever since has been trying to extend its boundaries. The early 'social workers', the term refers to those who have received some training, were straightaway drafted into various jobs in various governmental or non-governmental organisations. The latest of their kind are following suit. In most situations they are content to do the job and fulfil the administrative requirements, not many have shown a tendency of making an attempt to study what they are doing and its impact on people they are claiming to serve. At times the implicit attitude is one of helplessness since they neither have the time nor resources for doing that. In some cases however the attitude is of false pride in their own goodness and the goodness of the agency which is making efforts for doing good to people whereas the services offered may not even be required by the people. More often than not, neither social workers nor welfare agencies know why they succeed nor why they fail.

Schools of social work in India, have on their own, with few exceptions have not made any serious effort to evaluate their own courses to see what competence level their graduates have achieved. Not many have attempted to find out what kind of jobs their graduates are carrying out and with what degree of success.

Association of Schools of Social Work in India and the University Grants Commission though have made periodic attempts to review social work education in India. It is as a result of the efforts made that some thinking has been done to assess the nature of social work education in the country and to identify the areas that needed strengthening. The curriculum design and broad objectives pursued were debated and as a result some schools were able to modify their curriculum and objectives. The debates have thrown up a number of issues however, on which a consensus is not possible. The present volume thus has tried to focus attention on one of these issues i.e. the relationship between social work and social development. The exercise has been done more for the purpose of achieving some degree of consistency in what we may chose to accomplish through social work education, rather than conformity to any particular conceptual model.

The indicator which ultimately determines the credibility of any profession is the competence level of its practitioners which is reflected in the degree of satisfaction its clientele exhibit in its appreciation of the services rendered. An evaluation of social work

on this basis will leave little doubt in the mind of a dispassionate researcher that both social work education and practice has yet to go a long way in achieving the credibility it seeks as a profession. An attempt has already been made to visualise the trend of social work practice in 2001 (see Ramchandran) yet the process of rethinking must go on to search for better ways of accomplishing the task of reshaping social conditions on the one hand and reorienting human response to the existing social workers has been the dilemma that has baffled the social work educators and practitioners internationally, more so in the Third World countries. This has generated the need for social workers to come to grip with the concept of social development particularly during the seventies.

Pathak one of the early advocates of giving a developmental thrust to social work education has tried to recapitulate the happenings during the past fifty years to provide the readers the historical background and a critique of social work education in India. He has attempted to highlight the issue of whether social work curriculum should continue to support the status quo in society or advocate and work for system change. Further the nature of social development as a goal and the related social work roles and tasks has also been discussed.

Siddiqui in his paper has dealt with different concepts of social development and the need for choosing specific curriculum objectives for preparing students for working for micro or the macro level of interventions. He has dealt with the problem of curriculum design in view of the unresolved conflict between micro and macro levels of intervention in his other paper.

Ramashray Roy has provided a socio-political analysis of the present dilemma of social work educators and practitioners. Roy's insights will be useful to social workers as it represents an objective view point of a social scientist who is free from the anxieties of preserving one's own profession.

Nayak has the distinction of creating a school of social work out of his first hand experiences of working with tribals through a voluntary agency on the one hand and of working as a senior civil servant on the other. His views about social work in the context of present day realities in India are therefore likely to help raise some relevant issues. Nayak in his other article which he presented in a recent conference on Social Work Education in China has outlined the need for training grassroot social workers in India.

Illango in his paper has dealt with the relevance of social work education to community development with a view to highlight the areas which need reconsideration for making social work practice more effective in the context. Similarly Koteswar Raju has discussed the social work approach to tribal development in an attempt to assess the current approaches to tribal development and the contribution of social work practitioners in the implementation of programmes for tribal development.

K.S. Chalam has discussed the educational problems of the weaker sections with a view to highlight its implications for social work practice in India. Nabor Soreng has discussed the use of an innovative approach which his group experimented with in communicating with the tribals.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION—SOME UNRESOLVED ISSUES*

Shankar Pathak

Historical Perspective-The Profession

Recently the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) the first institution which was established in 1936 in Bombay, celebrated the golden jubilee year with a series of seminars and a special function. This historic event went almost unnoticed in other parts of the country, with the minor exception of a symposium organized in Delhi in February 1987, by the Department of Social Work, Jamia Millia Islamia. It should have been an occasion for a retrospective look to take stock of the achievements and failures of the fields of social work and social work education, and the problems that confront them by the social work practitioners/administrators and social work educators. On this occasion I can only make a few broad observations on these issues to provide a brief historical perspective.

The field of social work continues to be a mosaic with varied patterns. The indigenous and the imported models continue to co-exist, the latter a hybrid variety with a good deal of imported elements incorporated in it. Whether social work is a profession continues to be a question on which divergent views were expressed in the U.S.A. by social workers and the sociologists. The question first posed by Flexner in 1915 was answered in the negative by him. Subsequently the debate continued within and outside the field, along with the efforts of social workers who were determined

* Key note address delivered on 21st December, 1986 at the National Workshop on Challenges of Development: Emerging Concerns of Social Work Education, Bhubaneshwar which has been subsequently revised for publication.

to achieve the status of a profession-in the image of the medical profession. Greenwood (1957) in a widely quoted article, gave the judgement in favour of social work. A few years later, Etzioni (1969) differed from him and expressed his view, stating that social work was a semi-profession.

A similar quest for professional status began in India which has been discussed elsewhere (Pathak, 1975, 1979). Here I shall make some comments to deal with the developments since then. As part of the professionalisation process, two associations were formed, one, of the trained social workers and the other, of schools of social work. The Indian Association of Trained Social Workers which was started in 1961, grew in strength considerably until the end of the next decade. For the past ten years it has been inactive to the point that it is difficult to say whether it is alive or dead. As a sequel to this, an independent local organisation of trained social workers has come into existence in Bombay. There are some indications of similar organisations coming into existence in one or two major cities.

The two associations when they were alive and active, did not succeed in carving out their exclusive territory where only trained/professional social workers would be employed (There are a few exceptions to this statement). We see the steady growth of occupationalisation of the field by the increasing numbers of paid jobs in social work, but not always held by persons trained in social work. Ironically, even when social workers tried to demonstrate their contribution and thus open up a new area for their employment such as social work in schools, the result was not always favourable to them as indicated by the recent experience in Delhi.

What we notice today in the field of social work, and particularly in social work education, can be described as the process of academicisation. The first school, which changed its name and later its status, had deliberately chosen to retain its independence and autonomy, by not seeking affiliation to the University. Fifty years later the situation is quite the opposite. All the schools are now part of the university system either as departments of college affiliated to a university and/or as post-graduate departments/faculties of the universities. The pioneering institution became a deemed 'university'. It is not possible to examine here all the consequences of this development, considering the nature and pattern of higher education system in India, with the U.G.C.

exercising its power directly and indirectly, the process of academicisation started and it was reinforced by other developments in the field.

Briefly, by academicisation I mean, over-emphasis on academic degrees alongwith the non-recognition and even devaluation of field experience, in recruitment and promotion of teachers in schools of social work. It includes credentialism as described by Titmuss. This has a series of chain reactions which further reinforce the process of academicisation. During the last two decades we neither see any trend in favour of employment of social work educators with considerable field experience or production of literature which draws upon substantially on the practice wisdom of social workers in the field. Education and empirical reality have not established a proper linkage through a system of feedback.

Historical Perspective-Social Work Education

The present dominant pattern of social work education emerged and has been in existence for about 40 years. It is generally at the post graduate level, with a two year programme providing for specialisation. It includes class room instruction or theoretical courses, supervised field work and compulsory dissertation and in some schools also block field work of 4 to 8 weeks. A few schools follow the generic pattern. There are about 50 schools of social work but none in the north western part (J & K, H.P. and Punjab)* and eastern part with the exception of W. Bengal. There are more schools in the south and in Maharashtra than in the other parts of the country. Compulsory dissertation for M.A. abolished by two major schools during the past 15 years. M.Phil courses have been started in three universities and Ph.D. degrees are offered by many universities.

There have been two review committees appointed by the U.G.C. These committees have laid down several norms including the norm of teacher-student ratio. By and large the norms remain unimplemented by most schools. Finally, as the various authors on the Indian higher education system have commented, there has been quantitative expansion without qualitative improvement.

* At the time of the publication of this paper in 1988 only Himachal Pradesh J.K. are without a school of social work.

This observation is valid for social work education also.

During the early 1970's social developmental perspective was advocated by a few social work educators which is now generally accepted by most schools but still to be implemented by many. Currently the U.G.C. sponsored Curriculum Development Centre of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences is engaged in preparing a national model curriculum for social work education, at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels.

I have selected some major issues for discussion by the participants at this Workshop.

1. Social Science and Social Work

Social science courses have always been a substantial part of the social work curriculum in India. These courses have been considered very necessary for social workers because they should know about and understand the society in which they work with people in a variety of situations. The social science courses are usually described as basic or foundation courses, and they are compulsory for all the students, irrespective of the fact that some of them might have studied one or more of these subjects at an undergraduate level. The weightage given to social science courses has varied at different periods of time, and in different universities. However, the precise objectives of these courses, the selection of content and who should teach them and how they should be taught have rarely been discussed seriously.* At times, the situation has led to a state of tension between the social science segment of teachers, and teachers of social work courses, if the former were in sufficient number employed within the same institution. Gore called it a state of dynamic tension recently at the Golden Jubilee function of TISS. The sources of this tension has been discussed by Ramchandran (1983). The social science teachers seem to be critical of the way in which bits and pieces of social science theories are taken out of context and used by social work teachers/practitioners as part of their 'eclecticism' without reference to the validity and applicability of the theories to a different cultural milieu. Social workers feel that the social science teachers lack interest in and commitment to social work; they stand apart as

* A seminar of social science teachers in schools of social work was held in 1978 at TISS where some of these issues might have been discussed.

it were, without becoming (or even not trying to become) part of the mainstream.

In view of the recent emphasis on the social developmental perspective and the goals related to it, it has been argued by Gore (1981) that the proportion of social science content in social work curriculum needs to be increased substantially. He states: "If we really want to take on broad social developmental tasks as part of our professional responsibilities, our curricular content in social science will have to be wider and deeper. Our knowledge in the areas of developmental economics, organisational behaviour and the analysis of social systems will have to be extended at least to the extent to which we emphasise the understanding of human motivation psychological processes and abnormal psychology in preparing psychiatric social workers. Is this a realistic goal for our schools? Can this be attempted in a two-year programme of instruction where we admit students even without any base in the social sciences?"

What is the rationale for this view? What has been the experience of other countries in this respect? Martin Davies (1981) who has worked for many years as a probation officer and researcher in U.K. and has been the editor of the British Journal of Social Work and currently is Professor of Social Work in the University of East Anglia has made the following observations on this issue:

"The contribution of the social sciences to social work has been primarily a negative, a corrective one. In almost all its empirical work, sociology has countenanced caution against unduly optimistic expectations in practice, as shown that various change or control strategies are normally of only limited value and may be counter productive or have unanticipated adverse consequences..... (emphasis in the original) It is neither easy nor satisfying for me to come to the conclusion that the social sciences have so far been disappointing in their contribution to social work theory or practice. I am myself a sociologist; I enjoy reading sociology; and I practice a variety of sociological research methods in my academic work. I acknowledge that it is possible that sociology may yet succeed in proving that social work is irrelevant and misguided in its assumed role.....

Social work education is now strengthening its syllabus in the teaching of practice skills, and there are already signs that in order to make room in the time table for due weight to be laid on these,

the emphasis on some aspect of the social sciences will have to be reduced....."

The other implicit assumption in Gore's statement seems to be that social science has developed knowledge (theories) which can serve as a dependable guide to action leading to social development. This is a highly debatable point. Eminent western sociologists have expressed views which do not support the assumption behind Gore's statement. Van Nieuwenhuize, (1982) the well-known Dutch Sociologist in a major treatise on the sociology of development has observed:

"Applicability has never fascinated sociologists the way it has economists. The road from theory to practice has hardly ever been seen as a matter of turning a theory model into a planning model. The mediating role of insights pure and simple has been respected to the point of letting it become a stumbling block, hampering application. The link between sociological theory and community development or between sociology and social work is weak".

Ernst Gellner, (1986) who is Professor of Social Anthropology in Cambridge University, and noted for his writings on the theme of Philosophy of Science, has observed:

But we obtain a different picture if we look at it from the viewpoint not of methods employed, but of the impact on our cognitive world: if we ask whether there is a general, overall consensual cognitive activity, radically discontinuous from the insights and techniques of ordinary thought, and unambiguously cumulative at an astonishing and unmistakable rate. The answer is obvious. In this crucial sense, in terms of their impact on social order, social studies are not scientific--much as they rightly claim to be so by the previous criterion or criteria. The quantitatively accurate descriptive techniques are not accompanied by correspondingly convincing theory or similarly accurate prediction. The sophisticated abstract models do not firmly mesh in with empirical material. The powerful insights are not consensual, paradigms exist and prevail, but only in sub-communities; and when they succeed each other, the situation is quite different from that which prevails in natural science". The Indian experience of teaching social science concepts and theories to students of social work has been critically analysed by Ramachandran (1983). He, like Gore, is of the view that "Social work has to draw quite frequently and heavily from the social sciences" to fulfil its tasks. He says that

"this knowledge must be rooted in facts and reality, and not merely be based on theoretical possibilities, or hopes based on pious but untested, social science theories of human societies, their needs and expectations". He is of the opinion that very few of the social science teachers have the necessary equipment in the application aspects of their discipline "and what is worse, many of them do not see the need for it". (emphasis supplied)

My remarks made on this issue so far need not be misunderstood to mean that I am against the inclusion of social science content in the social work curriculum. My own academic background includes study of social science and social work-a little more of the former than the latter. What I have questioned is the need for increase in the social science content and the underlying assumptions about the nature of social scientific knowledge-their relevance as a guide for promoting social change and social development.

The advocacy of social developmental perspective and goals for social work practice have led to some debate recently whether social work curriculum should continue to support the status quo in society or advocate and work for system change (Desai 1985). A further issue debated is on the very nature of social development as a goal and the related social work roles and tasks.

There is a strong and vocal section of social work educators who fear that the identity of professional social work, so painstakingly built over several decades, is about to be lost in our zeal for social change and development. These educators are also apprehensive that the new curriculum in social work will not do justice to the traditional roles of social worker which requires substantial course content related to practice courses/field courses and field work. Even among the pro-changers there are divergent views on the inclusion or exclusion of officially sponsored programmes as part of social development such as family planning and population control, I.C.D.S., community health programmes etc. While one section wants to include such programmes in the definition and scope of social development, another section strongly differs from this view, advocating a radical stance by social workers with reference to the issues of social injustice, exploitation and oppression (including gender related discrimination and oppression). The latter group includes those whose ideology ranges from Freire's conscientisation to pro-Marxist ideologies that aim to bring about

a major social structural change not excluding confrontation and conflict as part of their strategies.

2. Social Development Perspective and Roles

Some questions need to be considered here. Can we prepare or are we capable of preparing "agents" of change? Are the graduates to work in official programmes of social change such as I.C.D.S., population control and family welfare, anti-poverty programmes, and health programmes of immunisation, nutrition and health education, and nonformal education? Or do we intend to prepare social activists who will work in or establish micro-level voluntary organisations, working for the liberation of the oppressed, through social action, with varying degrees of radicalism? The second option will include confrontation with vested interests by organising the weak and the exploited sections of the population, to fight for their legitimate share in the fruits of development.

A study by Ramachandran (1986) of the alumni of TISS working in the various field settings, revealed two different groups of social workers with two distinct and unbridgeable conceptualisation of social work practice emerging by the end of this century. He calls this difference between the two groups as the Great Divide (Ramachandran 1986). A majority of social work educators are highly sceptical of our legitimacy and competence to prepare social workers for the radical, confrontationist practice in the field.

3. The Task of Integrating the two models

Can we simultaneously through a two-year programme prepare students for the traditional role of ameliorative-rehabilitative function of social work as well the new role of initiating social change by activists or catalysts of change? Some social work educators are doubtful of our ability as well as the desirability of combining the two models. (Siddiqui, 1987)

Gore (1981) is strongly of the opinion that we should not be very ambitious about our concern to link social work practice to social development, which according to him, is only a tertiary area to our central concern of helping the unadjusted and the handicapped sections of our population. I agree with his view that social

development is a multidisciplinary field in which social workers have a part to play along with the other professions. But I do not agree that our interest and roles in it are peripheral.

I am inclined to agree with Adiseshiah (1981) who has asked "the schools of social work to give some time to studying the structure and factors of ownership and assets distribution in our society and the lop-sided decision making networks flowing from them along side of the professional training and practice in social work education and praxis per se they are engaged in". He also expressed the hope that such a study will enable the social workers to work alongside of others committed to organising the poor, the exploited and the disadvantaged to fight for their rights."

The problem still remains to be faced at two levels—(a) at the level of designing an unifying theoretical framework which harmoniously integrates the two different models of social work practice, holding them together as part of a single professional entity; (b) at the level of designing a social work curriculum that is of two years duration which produces social workers competent to work in either of the two practice areas. The first part of the problem is more serious in my opinion. I am reminded of the question addressed to me by Rama Balachandran, one of the few thinking, reflecting new band of young social workers who tried to venture into unchartered territories, and wanted to belong to a profession with a long tradition of compassion and service for the poor and the handicapped. She, alas, is no more. But the question that troubled her mind needs to be pursued until we find a satisfactory answer. It is a long and difficult search for a new paradigm for social work practice which deals with the problem of identity and image of this double-faced profession, which has dogged its trail since its birth in the west.

The answer to the second part of the problem depends to a great extent whether we succeed in framing a new paradigm for social work practice. Even then, the practical problem posed in the second part has to be faced. I can answer it briefly here. The social science content may be assigned a weightage of about 25 to 30 percent of the total class-room instruction part of the curriculum, excluding field work. The content has to be carefully selected to meet the demands of practice of social work in both models. Part of this content may be compulsory and the rest offered as optional courses, along with a set of courses which may be either advanced

practice in the traditional model or the new model with focus on developmental roles and tasks. I wish to stress that these are not two specialisations because the traditional model will be one package, based on generic pattern essentially. The con-current field work may be linked to the traditional model and the block field work to the developmental model.

The Relevance of Social Work Education

The Report of the Second U.G.C. Review Committee (1980) has stated that social work education should be in tune with social reality and it should be non-elitist. What do we mean by the first? Does it mean emphasis on the problems of mass poverty, persisting structural inequality and development in favour of the few, and how to change all these? If so, what are the curriculum implications? If we want to make social work education non-elitist, we have to change the existing urban-metropolitan location of schools, drastically modify the eligibility requirements, and procedures, of admission, and consider introducing mobile training units. The open University and correspondence courses may be more suited to candidates, who are located in rural areas far away from the schools which are based in cities, and also to those who belong to weaker sections of society. Adiseshiah (1981) has pleaded for the introduction "of a diploma course in social work both for those who at the village and town level are called upon to undertake the tasks that are part of the work of the social work professional as well as for those who need the skill in the work that they are now doing".

We have a very difficult task ahead: To discuss, dispassionately these vital issues concerning social workers' definition of their roles and functions, and subsequently to devise a curriculum which, within the period of two years, can prepare social workers who are confident and competent enough to go out into the field to assume their chosen roles and to carry out their tasks effectively which satisfies them and their 'client system' i.e. the people with whom they work.

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RETHINKING SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

H.Y. Siddiqui

The first step in the process of rethinking is the bringing to consciousness the model or models that dominate our thought and action, the second task is to analyse the model itself to accept, modify or reject it and lastly to construct a new model/or models if need be.

An overview of the writings of people who initiated social work education in India reveals that they were faced with the dilemma of choosing a specific model designed to meet the requirements of Indian conditions. Clifford Manshardt, the initiator and director of the first school of social work in Asia, was aware that it was "quite impossible to reproduce Western experience without first submitting it to a great amount of critical analysis and scrutinizing each subject in the light of Indian conditions" (Manshardt, 1941).

Dr. Holt in his address at the opening of the first graduate school in 1937 emphasized the value of the experience Manshardt and his colleagues had in actually working with people, as also their desire to establish it on indigenous lines. "It would be easy to take the ideas of modern social work from the West and found a school for its propagation and the adventure would probably be as dangerous as it would be useless. But it is a different matter to relate such a school to the experience of 10 years of actual living in Byculla, challenged by every problem with which human nature is puzzled (Manshardt, 1941).

Although Manshardt introduced a theoretical and methodological orientation in some respects similar to that of the USA yet he emphasised that "the school recognizes that the cultural, economic and social conditions of India differ from those of the West and

it makes every effort to adopt its materials to Indian conditions to interpret them in the light of the national and social heritage" (Marshardt, 1941).

These writings are indicative of the uncertainty of the social work educators as the diverse social goals identified by Titus (Titus, 1941) further indicate. Some of the goals identified by Titus, apart from the conventional goals of helping people or remedial services were (i) to alter the environment in such manner as to make it more suitable for those who cannot under existing circumstances maintain themselves economically (ii) to improve standards of living in general by means of a more equitable distribution of wealth (iii) to facilitate and implement social change on one or all of the following levels (a) increased institutional flexibility in terms of changing human needs (b) increased central emphasis (social values) in relation to civilization (technology) (c) enhanced opportunities for progressively minded individuals to function without restraints (d) destruction of the existing socio-economic order by constitutional or revolutionary means in order to make way for a socialized state (Titus, 1941).

The adoption of the curative and rehabilitative goals over the goals which emphasized change perhaps can be explained by (i) a long tradition of welfare services based on the theory of individual inadequacy and fatalism (ii) the philosophical orientation of Manshardt and others involved in the delivery of services (iii) the models of social work available as reference points (iv) the lack of empirical evidence pertaining to the ineffectiveness of welfare services particularly in dealing with the problem of poverty (v) and finally the lack of theoretical insights about the problems of the developing countries.

To this now may be added the 'market forces' i.e. the market for goods produced by the schools of social work. The biggest consumers of products of schools of social work are large commercial organizations, governmental institutions and non-governmental institutions largely funded by government or international sources informed by a liberal ideology of social welfare.

The dilemma of choosing a specific model of social work education still haunts some, though in practice the schools have continued in the same vein almost oblivious of the whole controversy. The objectives of professional education currently are to prepare

the type and quality of manpower capable of performing the professional tasks and functions currently being performed by a variety of organizations employing social workers.

Social Work Tasks and Functions:

The report of the second review committee appointed by the University Grants Commission, to review social work education identified two 'categories of social work tasks (a) developmental and (b) remedial and rehabilitative (U.G.C. 1980).

The major goal of social work was seen as to enhance the well being of people to ensure social justice and opportunities for people to develop their capacities to become participating and contributing citizens.

There is however, hardly any agreement on what the term 'development' stands for. For example Nafisa considers the problem of poverty as a systemic problem and not an isolated problem. "It is related to socio-economic structures at every level; to decision making patterns in society, in terms of who takes decisions, for whom and how?, and it is related to the model of development that we have chosen to adopt in our country which is based on the principle of elitism. Hence it is in this context that we must understand the goals of social change (Nafisa, 1984)

Keeping the social realities in mind the goals of social change must aim to deal with the status of the poverty groups in society. More specifically to develop their capacity to participate in decisions that affect them in the social,economic and political spheres. This would imply efforts to develop people's organisations and movements at the grass root level, develop people's bargaining power, develop their economic capacity so that they may be involved in problem solving; developing their functional skills so that it can enhance their participation in decisions that affect them. Social change must then imply fundamental changes which Arthur Dunham terms as relationship goals in community organisation i.e. basically changing relationship patterns between landlords and labourers, industrialists and employees, slum dwellers and government etc.

Secondly,given the institutional context we need to bring about a change in terms of the policy framework and institutional

functioning so that they are more relevant to the client system they serve. Basically this would mean a change in delivery of service to ensure that the right people got the right services. Historically, the main concern of the social work profession has been to work within the institutions. It is important to work towards institutional relevance as there is a divergence between community needs and institutional functions. For example, this is most evident in the area of health where the hospital as an institution does not necessarily serve the health needs of the community, just as the school does not necessarily cater to the educational needs of a majority of our children in poverty groups, as correctional institutions for children do not necessarily cater to the emotional needs of neglected children" (Nafisa, 1984).

Yet another view of development provided by Kulkarni is (i) a policy of distributive justice to reshape the strategy focussed earlier exclusively on increased production; (ii) a policy of purposeful institutional change to match with modernisation of technology; (iii) a policy of employment promotion with a priority at least equal to, if not higher than that of the growth of the GNP; (iv) a policy of development of human resources; (v) a policy of people's participation in development planning" (Kulkarni, 1979).

A third view of developmental social work termed it as "policy practice". The social workers begin their interventions by talking with collateral systems about a population at risk. This criterion seem relatively straightforward in categorizing a city welfare administrator, for example, who consults with staff and city council members in formulating policy about processing welfare applicants. Although considerably less straightforward, a social work researcher would also be classified as a policy practitioner insofar as the focus would be on, formualting a study to draw inferences about future clients, that is, populations-at-risk" (Jackson, et.al., 1984).

Yet another term used to denote the developmental tasks is 'the people centred approach' involving people and working towards their liberation. "Conscientisation implies action and organisation. Information and knowledge are not enough to bring about a change in the power structure of society unless these are accompanied by action and organisation. Hence, information and knowledge must hopefully lead to action and organisation. This in turn gets strengthened through political participation and leads to political power.

The word 'Political' is understood here to mean a collective decision making process of the group and the knowledge and organisational power involved among the people at grass root level. This should not be confused with party's political power... In this framework, political power will not and should not be an end in itself. It is expected to lead to further growth towards liberation of self and society" (Ramachandran, 1986).

Pathak who was one of the social work educators in India in the early 70's to pointout the need for a developmental perspective for social work education in India, has also, identified developmental task as relating to bringing about structural changes in the society (Pathak, 1981).

"The goal of developmental social welfare is primarily to meet the basic needs of the large majority of the people who live and work in dehumanising conditions, and progressively to work towards the improvement in the quality of their lives.... The concept of social development will vary to some extent according to the present situation of the country.... whatever may be the concrete expression of the constituent elements of such a society and the means to achieve it, it will necessitate significant changes at the organizational,institutional and social structural levels (Pathak, 1981).

The U.G.C. report referred to the Vth International Survey for training in social welfare in identifying the developmental tasks (UN, 1971). These developmental tasks were seen to be related to work with specific target groups where social functioning is of crucial concern to social welfare. Ensuring interdisciplinary delivery of services, providing opportunities for the involvement of communities in problem solving and bringing about change in institutional structure or processes which retard, block or deflect development, were the specific tasks mentioned (UGC, 1980).

Pinkus and Minahan have formulated seven tasks for social work which they define as planned change effort. The seven tasks stated by Pinkus and Minahan (1973) can broadly be grouped into four functions:

- (i) to enable the people to cope with their problems by making use of their own capacities and resources;
- (ii) to act as mediator between people with needs and the resources provided by the society. This includes also the tasks of

- facilitating people's access to the resource system and influencing them to be more responsive to the needs of the people;
- (iii) the provision of concrete material goods and services which is termed by the authors as the task of dispenser of material goods and services;
- (iv) contributing to the formulation and modification of social policies. (Pinkus & Minahan, 1973).

The similarity between the tasks and functions identified by UGC report and Pinkus and Minahan is obvious. As Pathak pointed out "It is interesting to note that despite their emphasis on planned change efforts, in their statement of tasks there is none that directly and obviously deals with the role of an agent of social change.

Wilson's critique of ideology and welfare sums up the linkage between social change and social work, and their periodic efforts to adopt new models and techniques.

"The ideology of the welfare state expresses itself above all in what is written about social work and social workers, the literature of social work is the ideology of welfare capitalism This literature is not - or certainly not always - overtly reactionary or conservative, rather it fetishizes change and innovation, as happens also in the productive process where new models constantly replace old (yet the new models are always essentially the same as the old. Pincus and Minhan's book (1973) is an especially delicious example of old wine in new bottles, with a new jargon to describe the old activities). The latest word for social workers is indeed 'change agent'. Just as modern capitalism and social democracy constantly attempt to incorporate revolutionary capitalists so social work is ever fetishizing some new methods of work in order to evade the crucial issue of what its function is" (Wilson 1977). It is generally not realised that the 'professional goals' of social work in preparing students to undertake jobs in various fields of social welfare, and the task of bringing about social change in society, particularly when it means disturbing the status quo, contradict each other. The relationship between social work and social policy is determined by the latter, which has its base in the political ideology of the state. Social Work, then, inevitably becomes one of the institutions for legitimizing the political ideology of the state as is the case with education.."

The choice of a paradigm would require an interpretation of the data on social conditions. Gradual progress and a hope for better achievements in future based on higher economic growth rates and lower population growth, Social work in that context would need to concentrate on reorganizing its educational programmes to develop better professional skills among the students and further making efforts to prevent them from developing any doubts either about the underlying ideological assumptions or its practice.

A radical perspective of social work on the other hand, would require delinking social work education from the state sponsorship followed by the promotion of voluntary organizations committed to the philosophy of change, to carry out both social work education and practice. The choice of a model of society to ensure equality of access to developmental facilities and benefits has to be consciously made along with non-violent viable strategies for the transformation of the present societies. The social work education in this context would concentrate more on developing methodological sophistication and skills designed to affecting 'change' rather than the delivery of services.

This bring us back to the problem of determining the specific objective of social work education.

Can the remedial or clinical model be combined with developmental model? Or, would it be better to focus on any one model? If a competency based education is to be imparted the choice of a single model on the part of the students would be obvious to develop specific skills knowledge and attitudes related to a specific model. The clinical model will focus primarily on the use of social work intervention at micro and meso level, covering a wide variety of settings. A developmental model or system change model would exclusively focus on social work intervention at macro level. Designing separate courses with specific objectives seems to be the only way of solving the present dilemma of 'social' vs the 'professional' (Siddiqui, 1984) or 'personal' vs the 'political' (Halmos, 1970). Development of seperate courses on Social Policy in the Schools of Social Work in Canada, USA, UK and New Zealand is reflective of the new trend. In the Indian context the current practice in different schools seems to reflect the assumption that the two models could be combined, for all students. The UGC report and more recently the participants at a meeting of social work educators to discuss the curriculum outline at TISS Bombay,

endorsed this view. The rationale was that social work practice should be seen as a continuum from micro to macro level, and hence the curriculum should be designed keeping in view the traditional/remedial and promotional/developmental/system change roles'. The micro-macro approach means dealing with a vast range of situations ranging from individual problems of malfunctioning to change of oppressive and unjust systems. The theoretical understanding required for such wide ranging tasks could easily be comprehended. Can this be achieved given the present resources in terms of time, faculty position, quality of field instructors, library facilities, current teaching methodologies, laboratory and field practicum opportunities and lastly the student motivation and capacities to acquire both? To quote Gore, "If we really want to take on broad social developmental tasks as part of our professional responsibilities, our curricular content in social science will have to be wider and deeper. Our knowledge in the areas of developmental economics, organizational behaviour and the analysis of social systems will have to be extended at least to the extent to which we emphasize the understanding of human motivation, psychological processes and abnormal psychology in preparing psychiatric social workers. Is this a realistic goal for our schools? Can this be attempted in a two year programme of instruction where we admit students even without any base in social sciences? (Gore, 1981).

To conclude therefore a competency based model for social work education must begin with identifying specific tasks, and develop a suitable theoretical framework for performing these tasks.

It is obvious that the segmental affiliations of social work educators have become complex in recent years. While these divisions are not clear cut, it is clear that there is considerable disagreement and conflict over the nature of social work education. This poses difficulties of defining in any precise way the skills and knowledge relevant for competent social work practice.

The micro to macro continuum therefore is bound to create uncertainty on the part of both the educators and the learners. Hence the two should be kept separate if a competency based education is the objective; to enhance the professional status of social work.

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SOCIAL WORK AND LIFE-WORLD IN INDIA: A VIEW FROM THE OUTSIDE

Ramashray Roy

A View from the Outside

As a student of politics with little or no knowledge of other social science disciplines, I used to look upon the teaching and practice of social work as more useful than my own discipline. After all, political science restricts itself to only the reconstruction of political aspects of social reality and that also a very shadowy one. Concentrating as it does on the way we view political things, political science leaves well alone the realm of action and commits itself to an unrewarding exercise of chasing the tails of events and asking them to reveal their meaning to us. Or else, it depicts reality in the hues of prejudice and therefore distorts reality as well as prevents meaningful action. The divergence between thought and action is the central problem in political science.

This, however, did not seem to me to be the case with social work. Whatever may be its intellectual front, it does have a link with empirical reality through action programmes. And wherever such a link exists, there also exists the possibility of a two-way communication, feed-back and error elimination. The intellectual perspective used to apprehend social reality may project a particular conceptual framework on the the social world and, further, may, in the process, delimit social reality and its defining characteristics in a way that yields only a partial understanding. As a result, there may occur a divergence between theory and practice. However, a continuous interaction with the life-world of the people' is likely to raise questions about the validity of the

* The life-world is interpreted in phenomenology as the taken-for-granted universe of daily social activity. It is the saturation of communicative action by tradition and establishes ways of doing things. The life-world is a pre-interpreted set of forms within which everyday conduct unfolds.

intellectual perspective brought to bear upon social reality. Consequently, it is also likely that a dialectical relationship between theory and history would eventually develop so that theory will set the pace for history and history will, in turn, modify consciousness and theory. In this dialectical interaction, the divergence between thought and action will illuminate sharply rather than block action choices.

However, it seems that not all is well either with the teaching or the practice of social work.* To most of the teachers and practitioners of social work, it appears to produce a feeling of claustrophobia. This feeling is induced by a sense of being cooped up in a three dimensional space bounded on one side by the inadequacies, if not the alien character, of the intellectual groundwork of social work, on another side by the resistant, if not completely obstreperous, life-world in which social work practitioners have to function, and on the third side by the dilemmas of career perspectives created by the interplay of the first two factors. The boundaries seem to move in and severely constrict the space for innovation and adaptation. The feeling of claustrophobia generates frustration, cynicism and helplessness. It is ironical that the feeling of helplessness should pervade those who consciously opt for a role of helping others overcome their helplessness.

Sources of Claustrophobic Feelings: It is not that the students of other social science disciplines are immune from this feeling. The growing divergence between theory and history does induce frustration among them. However, since most of them deal with the realm of ideas, the optimism that a theoretical solution to the riddles of the real world will finally be within reach keeps their frustration down. In contrast, it is not the realm of ideas that constitutes the referent for solving a problem, it is rather that the worth of social work theories is being continuously tested in action. And since either the theories are inadequate or the empirical reality is intransigent, the self-image of social work teachers and practitioners takes a dip downward.

* My pre-conception about social work was totally shattered when I timidly participated in a workshop on the Theory and Practice of Social Work in Bhubaneswar in December 1986 organised by the National Institute of Social Work and Social Sciences, Bhubaneshwar.

Several factors are responsible for the sense of claustrophobia. These factors can broadly be divided into three distinct categories: theoretical-institutional, socio-cultural and professional. In so far as theoretical-institutional factors are concerned, they relate not only to the philosophical and theoretical perspective that shapes the conception and structuration of social work education but also to the recruitment of social work students and practitioners. The socio-cultural category pertains to those factors that are embedded in the life-world and with which social work practitioners have to contend with in discharging their responsibilities. What is of interest here is the inefficiency of a borrowed perspective in overcoming or removing certain social pathologies that affect the smooth functioning of the society. It, no doubt, raises questions about the relevance of social work teaching and practice in Indian conditions. But, more importantly, it also creates a professional dilemma in that a social worker trained to perform a particular role finds himself pushed by the prevailing socio-economic conditions in India to play a somewhat different role. If he resists it, he is ineffective and must suffer psychological tortures; if he succumbs, he must disown his training.

The Intellectual Perspective: What are the philosophical orientation and its institutional concomitants that provide the inspiration for social work teaching and profession in India? To explore them, we have to go back to the seventeenth century Europe when a radical reorientation in Western worldview took place. Previously considered to belong to a larger order and therefore not self-subsistent, man came to be thought of as a self-defining subject. Central to this shift in the conception of man was the jettisoning of the idea of a higher life purpose in contradistinction to the fulfilment of ordinary life-needs involved in the process of production and reproduction. It does not mean that the fulfilment of ordinary life-needs was impugned or condemned. On the contrary, while it was considered essential, it was supposed to be only infrastructural to the pursuit of a higher life purpose.

But, then, the fulfilment of ordinary life-needs, such as, the pursuit of wealth, power, and prestige, was endowed with a higher significance. The fulfilment of ordinary life-needs thus occupied a pivotal place in man's life. With this shift, it became quite unnecessary for man to look up to the larger conceptual order for determining his purpose and deriving norms for controlling the pursuit

of this purpose. Instead, man now looks within himself and his nature to find his purpose. What he finds there is a multiplicity of desires which he must satisfy in order to ensure his happiness. Of course, there is implanted within his breast also the candle of reason which emits sufficient light to enable him to judiciously determine his purpose and select appropriate means for its realization, on the one hand, and calculate the consequences of his own action for others, on the other hand.

However, for various reasons, reason is rendered helpless in regulating individual motivation and conduct. In the first place, while one tradition favours the ideal of the pursuit of ordinary life purposes under rational control, the counter-tradition, associated with Rousseau and Romanticism, endows to the fulfilment of ordinary purposes with a higher significance. To fulfil the true impulse of nature in us is not just to meet a biological need but also to satisfy a higher aspiration. It is, at the same time a moral fulfilment. From Rousseau on, the "true voice of nature" is at one and the same time both the impulse of biological need and an aspiration to what is experienced as moral self-realization. On this view, there exists no reason for pursuing ordinary life-activities under rational control.

In the second place, even if the necessity of rational control is recognized, as it must since an unrestrained fulfilment of ordinary life-needs is bound to collide with collective good, the fact that reason itself has undergone a radical shift in its meaning renders it incapable of applying reins to the waywardness of desires. Reason does not any more mean the faculty with the help of which we apprehend the true nature of things, the meaning of reality, and a sense of how we relate to the larger order. It now simply means the representation of things clearly so that one can calculate the costs and benefits of alternative means for satisfying particular desires—that are never brought to the bar of reason. Reason simply means a calculative, prudential reasoning. And, lastly, there is also the veil of prejudice, which prevents reason from calculating the consequences of one's action for others.

Thus the satisfaction of desires constitute the primary concern for every individual since his happiness is dependent upon it. But of still greater significance in this regard is the fact that it is in the process of the satisfaction of desires that the development of individual personality and civilizational progress are supposed to

occur. The fulfilment of needs compels men to articulate and exploit their hidden potentialities for developing technology to exploit /manipulate nature to yield its hidden treasures; the use of technology proliferates needs which, in turn, provide further impetus for improving/upgrading/inventing technology and so on. It is in the unfolding of this dialectical relationship between needs and technology that man actualizes his slumbering capacities, develops his own personality, and pushes civilization on the high road of progress and prosperity. It is also for this reason that putting restraint on the satisfaction of desires amounts to block individual development and hamper civilizational progress.

If the satisfaction of desires is so central in man's fulfilment, autonomy of the individual becomes a necessary attribute of man. Autonomy means that, in defining his purpose and choosing appropriate means for its realization the individual must not be influenced by any authority external to himself whether it be society, tradition, customs, etc. Autonomy implies equality without which individual development may, in a situation of unequal distribution of personal capacities and social resources, be distorted, even blocked. However, the pursuit of self-interest is considered both natural and rational. And an incessant search for material well-being constitutes the bed-rock of individual development and collective good. therefore, to put restraint on this pursuit is to put limits on individual development and social progress. Perfect equality is, therefore, unrealizable; instead, the formal equality of opportunity will have to do.

Along with autonomy and equality, efficiency of the individual, both as a producer and as a citizen, is again, an essential attribute of man today. As a producer, the individual manipulates and/or transforms nature with the help of science and technology to meet his as well as the society's escalating needs for material goods and services. As a citizen, he participates in the process of political decision making and influences its course. It is entirely a different matter that his participation is intermittent and usually confined to act of periodical voting not going beyond the acclamation of rulers. However, he has the vicarious satisfaction of taking part in determining political process and, through it, contributing to the making of decisions whose impact is felt by himself. By virtue of his roles as a producer and as a citizen, he experiences a sense of efficacy and feels that he can rise above the constraints of the

prevailing structures and manipulate them for realizing his own purposes.

Thus man in modern times is a self-defining subject, an efficient producer, and an influential citizen. His development depends on the degree to which the level of material affluence, his own and that of the collectivity he is a part of continuously rises. Technologically induced and sustained economic growth, thus, becomes the instrument of individual development and civilizational progress. That is why Lord Keynes insists that economic development is the possibility of development. But the possibility of development does not depend exclusively on economic development. It also assumes a particular type of social structure. And this particular social structure takes its cue from the idea of freedom. It needs no demonstration to suggest that the idea of freedom itself has undergone a sea change. The ancient conceptions of freedom underlined a particular relationship of the individual with the whole. With the eclipse of this idea, we find atomist conceptions of freedom developing where persons are seen to enjoy "natural liberty" in a state of nature.

But natural liberty in the state of nature constitutes a potent danger to individual well-being necessitating the establishment of a social order in which the political realm becomes responsible for securing peace, maintaining order, protecting property and ensuring the respect of contract. On this view, the free subject is the one who follows an internal purpose and owes no *a priori* allegiance to a preexisting order—but only—to structures that one has created by one's consent. Also, on this view, society has no inherent significance of its own; it is simply a mechanical aggregate of self-defining subjects who treat it as an instrument of realizing their own purposes. In addition to being an instrument, society is also an arena where individuals confront each other for protecting and promoting their interests.

III

Responsibility and Rescue: As an arena for the free play of the pursuit of self-interest by individuals and groups, the society is characterized by inequality of possession. Two factors associated with this inequality have a great deal to do with individual fortunes and social relations. First, the scarcity of resources consti-

tutes a prime factor in satisfying everybody's desires. Needless to say—that one of the greatest attractions of modern civilization is its promise that everybody's desires will be fulfilled. The legitimacy of this promissory note is sustained by yet another promise: the unbounded capacity of science and technology to know the secrets of this phenomenal world and of finding solutions to man's problems of continuously raising the level of his material well-being. There is no doubt that science and technology, freed from their traditional fetters, have gone a long way to satisfy most of the desires of most of the people. And yet the fact remains that scarcity of various kinds still stalks man's progress towards plenty. The persistence of scarcity constitutes an impetus for men to seek preferential access to and control over societal resources.

Second, if the promissory note declaring that everybody's desires will be satisfied stimulates intense competition for access to and control over societal resources, the inequality of possession creates conditions provoking social conflict not only for access to societal resources but also for formulating the rules according to which material benefits in the society should be distributed. The inequality of possession makes this competition very unequal since those endowed with larger resources are most likely to win the race of life. This raises doubt about the substantive vision of society as projected by industrial civilization and stimulates demands for equality. Intense competition and conflict for the control of strategic political institutions for using the apparatus of the state to create a more favourable economic and political climate ensue.

The emphasis on the primacy of pursuing self-interest itself constitutes a prime factor in making discord a fundamental attribute of the social order. When we add to it the two factors of the persistence of scarcity and the inequality of possession, discord gets a further impetus. The central problem in this perspective is, therefore, to take care of this discord. Given this, however, it is not considered desirable to either eliminate or reduce the causes of discord. To do so would be tantamount to striking at the roots of those dynamic factors which promote individual development and collective good. As such, the attempt is simply to mitigate and regulate the consequences of discord in order to prevent self-aggrandizing tendency from jeopardizing collective well being.

The need of harmonizing individual and collective good is indeed a serious problem. One solution to the problem is what

is known as "the natural harmony of interests". As Adam Smith noted long ago:

The natural effort of every individual to better his own condition, when suffered to exert itself with freedom and security, is so powerful a principle, that it is alone, and without any assistance, not only capable of carrying on the society to wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often encumbers its operation; though the effect of these obstructions is always more or less either to encroach upon its freedom, or to diminish its security. (Smith, 1936)

The propensity of every individual to exert himself in finding out the most advantageous employment for whatever capital he can command is universal. But this propensity manifests itself in each individual case in a conscious endeavour to put available resources to maximal, most efficient and productive uses. In this process the phenomena of division of labour and specialization come into being; exchange of goods and services becomes necessary; the process of exchange comes to be regulated by the law of demand and supply; and this, in turn, regulates the production of goods and services. In short, every individual, interested as he is in the maximization of his profit, is primarily an entrepreneur and, in this role, he must work hard, intelligently and deliberately, that is, reckoning up the advantages and disadvantages of any particular action before he enters in it. But this deliberateness is always attuned to the maximization of profit and incorporates the idea of just reward.

Since the society is conceived primarily in terms of an economic organization where interdependence and exchange become the dominant traits, the question of the terms on which mutually complementary producers exchange their products assumes central importance. As compared to other, more or less regulated markets, a 'free market' is supposed to be the best since it stimulates further endeavour into production of those goods which at the margin still give most satisfaction. The impersonal mechanism of the market, by responding to supply and demand, can, given a little time, adjust all rewards as it possesses an automatic mechanism for correcting its own errors. the market will push the price of that which is undervalued and pull down that which is overvalued, if only it is not interfered with. Thus, it is the functioning of the

free market that keeps in alignment individual motivations, productive activities and the larger forces of supply and demand. Again, it is this coupling of individual motivation, productive enterprise and the law of supply and demand that ensures a compatibility between individual self-interest and collective good. If the impersonal forces of the free market operate impartially, there is no need for any external agency to intervene and interfere. It is through the operation of the free market that private vice is transformed into public virtue.

But as experience shows, and as Gellner argues, "It is true that neither God nor nature has an Incomes Policy; no theology or metaphysics can help us identify the Just Price for the Just Wage. This is true enough. But the Market does not have one either" (Gellner, 1979). The market could have a policy if only it were extraneous to society. But this is not simply the case. the market gives its verdict in an institutional and cultural context. As such, it is vulnerable to the forces-socio-cultural, economic and political-operating in the larger society and displays characteristics of privilege and monopoly. And since privilege and monopoly impinge intimately on the market process, its vaunted claim of impartiality and impersonality is continuously vitiated. With the result that the State has to increasingly intervene in order to protect society from the consequences of human cupidity by seeking to alter the bases of human motivation and conduct.

In addition to influencing human motivation, the responsibility of the state has extended to yet another area. The realization that the supposedly free market does not function impartially and that its determination of rewards and punishments is dependent more on certain structural factors associated particularly with the phenomenon of inequality of possession, requires the state to take positive steps for helping those who, afflicted by some disability, psychological, economic or social, are incapable of taking an effective part in the race of life. To help them overcome their disabilities devolves upon the state since inequalities responsible for these disabilities are inherent in society which lacks either willingness or ability or both to itself tackle them. As such, the state is burdened with more and more responsibilities and therefore acquires other functions in addition to its conventional ones.

Thus the theoretical perspective which begins by strictly delimiting the scope and functions of the state ends up in the hypertrophy of the state.

Work, Disability and Society

IV

Despite the radical transformation in the role of the state in managing public affairs, the key element in the social order still remains the changed orientation towards work. There is no denying the fact that the satisfaction of ordinary life-needs constitutes one of the primary goals in life. But whereas it was, in earlier times, only infrastructural to the pursuit of a higher life purpose, it has now assumed the highest significance. With it has also changed the attitude towards work. This can be illustrated by the Puritan attitude towards work. As Vidich points out:

Relating work to the public good imbued it with a civic component. Each individual is linked through his work to the greater good of the collectivity.....Economic gains derived from work were a measure of the moral worth of the community of the believers who had collectively entered into a covenant with God. The values on which the Puritan community were originally built contained a powerful civic morality which found its ultimate principles in the ethics of vocation and in the conception of stewardship: both of which, it was presumed, would find their ultimate expression as a "City upon a Hill," an exemplary community which would serve as the emulative model for the rest of the world. (Vidich, 1982).

It need not be pointed out that the Puritan ideal of vocation was rooted in what Gellner calls "out justification" and refers to God's laws as the ground for morality which served to link personal vocation and community well-being. In this perspective man did not define his purpose in any utilitarian way alone: there were other, more important nonutilitarian goals that claimed greater allegiance on man's part. As such, there was no accent on increasing

productivity in order to satisfy escalating material wants. As Mumford puts it:

His productivity was restricted, not merely by available natural resources and human capacity, but by the variety of non-utilitarian demands that accompanied it. Esthetic design and qualitative excellence took precedence over mere quantitative output, and kept quantification within tolerable human limits. (Mumford, 1970).

But then the covenant with God was broken; the satisfaction of ordinary life-needs assumed primacy; and scientific and technological advances lifted the restraints on man's capacity to exploit/transform nature. All these factors taken together changed the attitude towards work. If the primacy of the augmentation of fortune emphasizes the production of more and more goods and services, scientific and technological advances sustain the hope that the condition of scarcity could be successfully overcome with the help of ever-evolving more and more sophisticated technology. The latter, it is usually claimed, will not only increasingly transform nature into raw-material but also make the production system itself much more resilient and responsive to man's proliferating needs. The possibility of an open-ended economic growth process is, therefore, not only real but also technologically sustainable.

The realization of this vision, however, depends on the extent to which individuals accept the prime necessity of work. Work is necessary not only for securing and sustaining individual felicity at a particular desired level but also for increasing the stock of collective wealth. The growing divorce between the production process and the ownership of the means of production itself makes it inevitable for many to seek work to obtain a livelihood. But, more than this, the material advancement in life also requires hard and efficient work. Work is then the prime means of not only subsistence but also for a comfortable life. What has further increased the importance of work is the progressive incorporation of social relations into the matrix of market economy. If it is only through work that augmentation of fortune is possible and if it is only through the augmentation of fortune that individual felicity can be ensured, the frittering away of material capital on such ephemeral objects as altruism, charity, gift, etc. is to lead only to the diminution of one's own happiness. Social bonds of cooperation and

mutual help gradually lose their salience and instrumental social relations among isolated individuals develop. As a result, an individual in economic distress in a modern capitalist society is least likely to receive help and succour from others. For this reason, too, individuals must work. And when they work diligently and efficiently the operation of the free, impersonal market process will give them rewards proportionate to their endeavour. If, on the other hand, they show sloth, inefficiency and ineptness, the market will accordingly punish them.

In this perspective, what one makes of his life is a personal decision and responsibility. The society provides ample opportunities for all to determine the course of their own life patterns. It is, therefore, up to them to do all they can to make good in this world. What is thus most distinctive about this perspective is a strong emphasis on personal responsibility. This is further buttressed by certain other ideas. For instance, the emphasis on individual freedom and full citizenship. Freedom symbolizes that every individual as an entrepreneur will exploit his economic advantages to the full. And since it is only the individual who can fully understand and appreciate these advantages, personal responsibility again, must be emphasized. It is true that individuals may encounter impediments, even injustice. However, injustices of inequality can very well be overcome by fully exercising the rights of the citizen. They can exploit the strength of their number and influence the course of public policy so that a definite delinking between socio-economic status and political power can be brought about. Also noteworthy in this regard is the argument that deviation from the maxim of personal responsibility invites social and / or political intervention in order to help those who are unfortunate enough to fare badly in the struggle of life. But such a help promotes indolence and dependence and kills initiative, innovation and dynamism. For this reason, too, personal responsibility in deciding one's life-pattern must be recognized.

While personal responsibility is recognized, it is also realized that there might be situations where either individuals may not have the awareness of personal responsibility or, even if they are imbued with the sense of personal responsibility, they may not, for various reasons, have the means of reflecting it in their own life and work. Also important in this connection is the fact that the mere recognition of personal responsibility as the cornerstone

of a modern, industrial society does not prove adequate. The society has also to see to it that individuals are fully socialized into the value of personal responsibility of determining their own life-pattern and accepting work as a crucial means of doing so. Various means for socializing individuals to incline them to work not only for their own good but also for the common good are utilized. (Jordan, 1977) However, socialization is neither complete nor does it have uniform impact on all the sections of society. Thus because of the incompleteness of socialization as well as the intrusion of numerous debilitating factors in the life of individuals, a sizeable number of individuals may not be in a position to work at all or, if they have work to do, may not for various reasons, do it well.

Such a situation cannot be tolerated for two important reasons. First, if the vision of a society that continuously marches on towards progress and prosperity is to be realized and if it is necessary for all to work hard and efficiently for the realization of this vision, it is necessary that conditions appropriate and congenial for this vision must be created. Obviously, such a society cannot tolerate a large number of people sitting idle and contributing nothing either for their own upkeep or for the benefit of the society. Second idleness, especially a forced idleness, breeds dissatisfaction and disillusionment eroding the legitimacy of the principal values that the society upholds and seeks to realize in social life and relations. This poses a threat to the viability of the system itself. It is true that factors responsible for the self undermining of the system are inherent in the system itself. However, it must take steps to reduce, if it cannot eliminate, the impact of these factors. There are other, humanitarian factors which emphasize concern for others. However, the role of inner contradictions of the system propel it towards moderating its stand on the principle of personal responsibility.

It is in this context that we can appreciate the fact that the system cannot, despite its emphasis on personal responsibility, tolerate to have a sizeable number of people suffering from various disabilities that prevent them from becoming a full member of society. Either the society itself or the political system or both must come to the rescue of individuals, even groups, who because of their disability, are prevented from meaningfully defining their proper role in the complex of functions—and contributing signifi-

fificantly to their own as well their society's well-being. Thus modern society, despite its repugnance to intervention in what is normally supposed to be a private matter, must brace itself to moving back and forth between two poles of orientation: personal responsibility and social rescue.

Cachexia and Carrot

IV

Needless to say that the genesis of social work teaching and profession lies in this terrain of bipolar perspectives. It is also needless to say that the self-image of social work as well as its dilemmas is embedded in this perspective. But before we discuss this, we need to dwell briefly on the types of disabilities that prompt corrective intervention and the purposes of such an intervention. For the sake of convenience, we can classify these disabilities into three broad categories: pathological, cognitive and structural. Footnote to be added what I label "pathological" refers to such debilities as delinquency, deviance and debilities that affect individual lives, distort the proper development of the individual and affect social life and relations. Disabilities covered by the term 'pathological' may arise for various reasons. They may be produced by psychological maldevelopment, physical handicaps, familial distortions and resistance to conform.

Whatever may be the source of pathological disabilities, what concerns us here is their implication for the individual in his role as an active member of the society. The first implication pertains to the fact that the individual suffering from a particular debility and skills for performing the role that the society expects from him. For example, he may be seriously physically handicapped or his mental growth may be quite inadequate or stunted or blocked. As a consequence, he may not qualify for any useful work. The second implication has to do not with stunted or blocked development per se but with defiance of and deviance from settled or dominant or official norms of behaviour. Defiance may not be conscious or deliberate or wilful whilst its consequences may challenge or offset established norms. Delinquency of various sorts arising either out of psychosomatic disturbances or of disturbed family situa-

tion, may cause individuals to show marked preference for and partiality to socially unacceptable behaviour patterns. Deviance, on the other hand, is wilful opposition-either passive or active-to norms that a particular society attempts to live by and can arise out of differences in ideology and belief.

In contradistinction to pathological disabilities, there are cognitive disabilities pertaining principally to the lack of adequate knowledge and information requisite for a better organization of life activities. What is important here is not so much as the lack of ability or willingness to exploit available resources for maximizing one's advantage as ignorance which precludes doing so. Particularly in the context of the growing complexity of economic life and relations, access to necessary information holds in most cases, the key to success. Therefore the lack of requisite information constitutes a severe disability. It should also be noted here that while ignorance is an impediment it is not something that cannot be overcome. Ignorance signifies only a void which can be filled with the help of education, advice and guidance. In contrast, pathological debilities constitute distortions and therefore positive hindrances in that they produce fraudulent modes of perceiving the world. However, both of them obstruct proper conceptualization and right action and must, therefore, be reduced, if not completely obliterated.

And, finally, an individual may be free of both the types of debilities discussed and yet incapable of utilizing his abilities well because he has been denied access to resources which are absolutely necessary for him to get ahead in this world. Here, we are pointing to certain structural factors that distribute societal resources-wealth, prestige, power in such a way that a large number of individuals and groups are denied access to these resources. As a consequence, they are denied even the opportunity to improve either their own life-conditions or the life-chances of their progeny. In short, inequality of possession as a pronounced characteristic of a social order itself constitutes an insurmountable barrier for these individuals and groups insofar as the question of bettering their economic lot is concerned.

The prevention of the occurrence of these disabilities depends on how just the social order is and how much legitimacy it and its values and institutions enjoy. However just and universally acceptable a society may be, it manifests certain inconsistencies

that produce certain disabilities. However, all pre-modern societies had available to them certain non-political mechanisms to take care of these disabilities. Even if glaring inequalities in the sharing and utilization of resources exist, they are tolerated because of socialization and, the lack of a viable alternative. All these factors may combine to reduce the occurrence of these disabilities and may, in case they occur, develop non-political mechanisms of dealing with them.

These factors do not, however, operate in the case of modern, capitalist society. Its ideals themselves produce inconsistencies that produces these disabilities; social relations increasingly erode mutual help; and no radical measures can be adopted to prevent the occurrence of these disabilities. Such a society therefore abounds in these disabilities but lack the means of preventing their occurrence through either normative consensus or desirable institutional transformations. The utmost it can do is adopt and implement certain rescue measures, at both social and political planes, for helping those who suffer from one or the other disability to overcome it. Thus the role of social work teaching is to train social workers who can perform the important role of rescue and social workers are expected not to concern themselves with the elimination of the causes that generate structural debilities but to console, counsel and, if possible, rehabilitate those who suffer from pathological and cognitive disabilities.

Concerns of Social Work

But what is the thrust of the role? It is quite obvious from the use of such terms as "delinquency," "deviance", "ignorance", etc., that they represent something that can be measured against some standard whether implicit or explicit. This standard may symbolize either the vision of society espoused by the ruling elite, a vision not yet fully realized but emerging to contend for dominance and lay claims for supremacy in defining ends for which individuals must strive and the means they must employ for realizing a particular end. Or, the standard may already be operative and crystallized in the institutional arrangement of the society. Whatever may be the case, this standard defines what man is, what he should aspire for in his life, and how he should shape his personal life

and social existence. It is the norms embedded in such a standard that provide the evaluative criteria for judging what do the terms, such as, "delinquency", "deviance", and "ignorance" really mean.

What is important here is the fact that, given the need for protecting the dominant standard from gradual erosion because of imperfect socialization, stunted personal growth, non-conformity and active defiance, the areas in which rescue is necessary as well as the nature for the rescue itself are judged according to the criteria derived from the standard. But the objective of the rescue is not to encourage or reinforce the phenomenon of abstention or withdrawal from the normal process of the society's functioning but to keep this phenomenon within tolerable and manageable limits, if it cannot be altogether prevented from occurring. Thus the objective is to bring back, as far as possible, the handicapped, the deviant, and the defiant into the mainstream of social life and make them worthy members of society.

It is pertinent to discuss here what is meant by the notion of worthiness. What is distinctive about this notion in modern times is the ideal that every commoner must be transformed into a gentleman. But this transformation is to occur not through revolution but through evolution. Central to this idea is the belief that society can surely move towards a state in which the injustices of inequality would be overcome without a fundamental change in economic and social institutions. Given this belief, what is important is that, since the thin line separating the realms of personal responsibility and social obligation tends to disappear, social intervention into private lives must be restricted to the principle of minimum intrusion. The aim of this intrusion is to help people suffering from various disabilities to acquire or restore abilities, skills, orientations, etc so that a sense of initiative and self-help can be kindled in them. And this relates specially to the central value of work in the sense that every member of the society should find not only his own salvation but also of the society as a whole in work.

This is unambiguously reflected in those areas of intervention where consoling, healing, counselling, etc. are the principal means of rescue. But this is also evident in the area where the disability of an individual to become a full member of the society can be traced directly to the factor of economic inequality. Here two different approaches can be identified. First, as has already been indi-

cated, the injustices of inequality are expected to be overcome by an evolutionary process. These injustices would be removed if all honest men recognize themselves and, in turn, are recognized by others as gentlemen. In short, one must commit to the ideal of equality with respect to rights and duties. Such moral equality between all members of a society would not be achieved by equalization of incomes, but by poor people "learning to value education and leisure more than mere increase of wages and material comforts" and their "steadily developing independence and a manly respect for themselves and, therefore, a courteous respect for another". (Marshall, 1950)

The central thrust of this perspective is to leave it to the natural process of social evolution to correct imbalances and break-downs. While disabilities are recognized, it is also recognized that the act of rescue must function as a safety-net not as a blanket that smothers initiative and self-help. This is so for the reason that if the state provides for any of the needs of the individual and his dependents in such a way as to give rise to the expectation that they might be comfortably met without any care or exertion on his part it would be to risk the corruption of the morals of all its citizens. What is distinctive about this perspective is the fact that the rescue work is undertaken not so much for ensuring the welfare of the suffering individual but the welfare of the society as a whole.

Second, it is also realized that the obstacles to the process of transformation of the commoner into a gentleman in the evolutionary process are too greatly to be overcome by hope and consolation alone. There is structural inequality which prevents people from taking full advantage of the available opportunities. There is also the fact that there are individuals and groups who become the casualty of material progress itself either because of imprudence or the working out of the process of pauperization. It is necessary for the state to look after them, partly for their own sake, and partly for its own because they are usually seen not only as irresponsible or inadequate, but also as often dangerously unruly and lawless. Here again, the act of rescue is usually restricted to the principal of minimum intrusion in that help given does not amount to more than bringing the afflicted segments of the population to a certain level of capacity in the hope that once this level of capacity has been acquired the casualties will show initiative and rely on self-help.

It is in this context that we can appreciate the expanding role of social work teaching and practice. Obviously, the social worker is now expected to function as a consoler, counsellor and a facilitator. But what is more important is the fact that he is charged with the responsibility of protecting the system from the ravages of deviance and defiance by completely identifying himself with the dominant ideology, transmitting its messages to the people, and trying to recruit them in the service of the dominant ideology. But to completely cast himself in this role is to be inexorably caught in the dilemma generated by the "fundamental conflicts between society's expectations of individuals (including the submissive acceptance of economic disaster and political turmoil) and individuals's demands for a decent life." (Jordan, 1977)

The genesis of this dilemma lies in the fact that the claims that the society makes on the individual and the expectation that the individual has of the society may diverge sharply. This divergence has been further accentuated because the moral man has now been reduced simply to homo economicus. The pursuit of a higher purpose did not in earlier times encourage conflict between the personal and the social. Personal integrity and identity were seen in terms of honourably fulfilling a role in society. The rules of right conduct were taught and learnt. The meaning of self and self-realization and the making of choices-all these acquired significance in terms of the individual's participation in the moral organism of the society. As such, the relationship between the individual and the society he was a part of was informed by the orientation that the freedom of the individual was only justified as serving a moral end, in the sense that the powers and capacities secured in it were considered essential to the fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being that is, as a being who in living for himself, lives for others too.

All this changed when the pursuit of self-interest assumed primacy. As a self-defining subject the individual must enjoy freedom to realize his purposes. This reduces society to a mechanical aggregate of self-defining subjects and produces disjunction between individual perspectives and collective objectives. It is this shift that is instrumental in creating dilemmas for social workers. Social work professionals experience doubts and ambivalence in performing their expected roles. They feel, as Jordan points out torn 'between respecting the vulnerability of the insecure and confront-

ing the destructiveness of the impulsive; between imaginative identification with the sufferer and the process of showing people how to live with suffering; between joining the clients in their search for personal identity and insisting upon the performance of their social obligations." (Jordan, 1977)

One of the important sources of ambivalences is the expectation from the social workers of maintaining objectivity, distance and non-involvement in performing his role. The Ferard and Hunnibun's maxim that the social workers must stretch out a long arm to save his drowning clients, but be sure to keep both feet on the bank exemplifies this.(Mattinson, 1975)

The emphasis on objectivity and distance is laid not so much because the aim is to protect "client self-determination" but because the involvement and identification with the client's misfortune are detrimental to the proper role performance of the social worker. After all, the foundation of social work is the assumption that the clients cannot make decisions for themselves, or cannot make sound decisions. The social work practitioner may therefore, have to assume an authoritative or executive role in order to protect the client from deleterious effects of his own action. The social workers is supposed to have correct information and appropriate skills to help his client. He is also supposed to be conversant with the objective conditions which have an important bearing on the situation as well as the possible solution of a particular situation in which his clients find themselves. To personally involve with the client's existential condition and try to find a solution to it may colour his perceptions of what is wrong, why it is wrong and what need be done. Furthermore, the social worker's role is to pull the clients at risk back into the fold of convention and conformity.

And yet not to involve with the client's existential condition is to reduce the effectiveness and therefore the legitimacy of the social worker. The social worker, who proceeds on the assumption that it is the folly of the client himself which is responsible for his distress, gradually becomes aware of the larger, societal forces that contribute to and in many cases are directly responsible for his client's misery. Once this awareness dawns upon him, he realizes the limitations of his own training, his role and his ability to help his client. If his help does not, to any significant extent, change the situation of his client, then surely the social worker has practised upon his client a kind of confidence trick. If the client is no

more than the victim of social and economic forces, the manifestations of structural conflicts and defects in the society, then the role of the social worker is invalid. If the misery of the client springs from his location in the factual order in an unjust state, how can social workers reconcile themselves with working for the state?

The Crucible of Social Change and the Dilemma of Social Worker

VI

The origin of social work in its modern garb can be traced back to the time when the process of generating material affluence through technologically induced economic growth was radically changing the face of western societies. The growing evisceration of the structure of traditional society, the increasing material interdependence but eroding social cooperation, and the greater and greater atomization and individualization against the back drop of an intense competition for the augmentation of fortune adversely affected individual life, social relations and economic opportunities. The process of industrialization quickened the pace of social change and produced extremely uneven capacities among various socio-economic groups for coping with change and successfully handling its effects. It created a large number of people "at risk", afflicted by physical and mental disabilities, lacking in the ability to adapt and adjust, and bereft of material resources to compete in a harsh world.

The increase in the population "at risk" is a serious threat to the viability of the system. It is true that the system cannot completely eradicate the conditions that produce disabilities for many since to do so would be to neutralize, even destroy, those forces which give the system its dynamism. Affluence and progress have their cost, particularly in terms of pauperization, misery and disrupted life for many. This must therefore be tolerated. However, if the alleviations of suffering, whether individual or system-inflicted, is likely to snatch people "at risk" from the permanent infirmity and nurse them to normalcy, it is worth the society's trouble since it is sure to contribute to the proper functioning of the society. Since harsh measures are out because Freudian psychology frowns upon

repression and punishment, acts of alleviations must be done in a soft way: consoling, counselling, etc. Moreover, the attempt to impose collective solutions on individuals' afflictions must not go too far because it is likely to diminish initiative and independence and destroy peoples' powers to find their own solutions to problems, on the one hand, and the high level of taxation required by the expansion of social services is likely to slow economic development and undermine individual energy and ambition, on the other.

It is this perspective that underlies and informs social work teaching and practice. The projection and universalization of one particular historical experience as the mainspring of social work teaching and practice can still be seen to be a dominant trend in this country. However, what is remarkable is that the social work perspective, even in countries of its origin, provides only for palliatives, offering measly carrots for deep-rooted cachexia. The result is that the social worker is torn between conformity and rebellion. It is this contention between conformity and rebellion that shapes the consciousness of the social workers. But only a few social workers can and do rebel; others seek a compromise—a compromise that compels them to separate their private world from their public posture. That is to say, they want to believe that there is at least a part of themselves which they can keep safe from society's influences and its blandishments. Hegel describes this consciousness as the "Heroism of Flattery", a kind of self-preservation in which the self is disintegrated, by simultaneously prudently serving the power of society, but existing in a state of inner rebellion against it.

But when this perspective is implanted, root and stocks, in a society which has yet not advanced, under the pressure of modernization, far enough to display the characteristics, both individual and social, that endowed social work some significance, the experience of the social worker is bound to be much more frustrating. A country which has just started on the path of industrialization with a large part of its social structure, orientations and behaviour patterns intact, the social worker not only finds it incumbent upon him to win over the people to accept the values of modernization but also frustrating where his client is willing to accept his counsel but unable to follow it because of structural inequalities. Furthermore, with the growing disillusionment with the industrial mode of life and the increasing awareness of its baneful

effect on peoples' life and their environment, the feeling of frustration mounts with the realization that one is taking part in systematically destroying something which is not as evil as what he is helping install in its place.

It is against this background that we can appreciate the poignant self-searching by social work teachers and practitioners in our country. We can only hope that this soul-searching helps the discipline and the profession of social work to find a better direction. This direction can be gained only by linking social work to its enveloping life world.

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THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN THE CONTEXT OF A FOURTH WORLD SCENARIO

R.K. Nayak

The term 'third world' was used by the liberal and radical French writers during the 1950s, when many within their country looked for a 'third way' or a 'third force', which was more congenial than the conservative nationalism and dogmatic communism. At the international level, 'third force' was urgently needed during the cold war between the rich powerful industrial nations of the West and the East. The third force took shape at the Bandung Conference of 1965, when India, Egypt and Yugoslavia along with some others tried to form a group of their own and remain nonaligned to the two power blocks.

Interestingly the French writers while coining the word 'le tiers monde' had in mind, the 'third estate' of the realm, the common people, who in 1789, during the French Revolution overthrew the privileged nobility and the clergy called the first and the second estates of the 'ancien régime'. The third world countries had three basic features viz. they were poor, they were ex-colonies and were nonaligned in the context of the cold war between the West and the East. The French writers compared them with the 'third estate', although they never expected that the Third Block could ever overthrow the two power blocks.

The term 'third world' became popular with the publication of 'Third World' by Peter Worsley and the Three Worlds of Development by Louise Horowitz in the sixties. But neither of these publications nor any other publication of some standard go beyond the concept of the third block or the third estate, and analyse the scenario in all its details. In other words, division of the world into three segments based on either politics or economics would seem to be an over-simplification of the problem of development, espe-

cially when we take units of single countries or communities within the third world and subdivide them further (Worsley, 1984).

The degree of inequality inside most Third World Countries is much more pronounced than in a typical industrialised country, in respect of food consumption, housing, availability of water, education and so on (Harrison, 1979). World Bank economist Montek Ahulwalia calculates that in the typical developing country the richest 20 percent of the people cover 53 percent of the personal income, while the poorest 40 percent get only 12 percent of the income (Chenry etc: 1974).

Let us consider India as an example and compare the States of Punjab and Orissa within it. The per capita income of the former is three times that of the latter, and the productivity of land is about four times, while the perhead consumption of milk alone is about 6 times. Further within the State of Orissa we find a wide disparity between the coastal areas and the hill regions. Even the village population is highly stratified in terms of caste status, economic power or political influence. In other words, there are economic disparities, social variations, demographic differences, disparities in educational levels, migration patterns, consumption standards, technological levels as also environmental conditions between and within the States. It is in this sense and against this backdrop that we would place some of the geographical areas and population groups of the State of Orissa in what can be termed as the Fourth World scenario, since their problems are unique and consequently require separate strategies and methods for handling their situation. Naturally the perspective of social work to serve as an instrument of social change and economic development will have to be different in these areas from the accepted norms as also practice. But, before we touch upon this subject we may by way of a case study examine the different features of a Fourth World scenario-say-the Tribal World of the State of Orissa. The Tribal situation very well represents the Fourth World scenario with in the Third World, a fact which has generally been overlooked.

The Historical Perspective

Orissa or Kalinga, the land where Emperor Ashoka renounced

war, is also known as Utkal, which means excellence in arts. It is a maritime State on the east coast of India situated between the states of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. It comprises an area of 155,842 sq. kilometers (Sharma, 1979). According to 1981 census the population of the State was 2.19 crores. The scheduled tribes accounted for 24 per cent and scheduled castes 16 per cent of the total population (Census 1981).

The Tribes of Orissa share different social, economic and cultural situations. On the one hand there are backward groups practicing shifting cultivation such as the Kutia Kondh, Bonda, Hill Juang and Paudi Bhuiya. On the other hand, there are assimilated groups who are indistinguishable from the general rural population of the country. Between these extreme situations there are various groups of tribals who are in transitional stages. Impact of industry, mining and hydro-electric projects have influenced Tribal groups to a considerable degree. Thus in Orissa one could come across different stages of social and economic growth, which the Tribes exhibit in their day-to-day life. (Das: 1972)

There are altogether 62 tribes in Orissa. The major tribes being Konds, Sauras, Bondas and Santhals. The sociocultural structure of each Tribe is unique. These Tribes have a highly egalitarian society, with high status for women, dignity of labour and love of freedom as basic planks of their ethos. They have a completely different world view of their own. Despite centuries of onslaughts of external civilizations and modern influences some of them have been able to maintain their values as seen in their rites and rituals and traditional institutions. They have a coherent code of conduct. The traditional leadership pattern, like the earstwhile city states of Greek model of direct democracy, continues to operate despite the emergence of new political structures including the Panchayat Raj institutions and representative legislatures (Das 1972). Though the Tribes do not find a place in the elitist and coast biased history of the State, they have influenced the course of the history of the State in more than one ways. The Kond and Santhal rebellions of the pre-independence era are cases in point. The frequent defections and withdrawals of support by the Tribal M.L. As after 1947 are mere manifestations of these revolts and disapproval of the system that is antithetic to their social system and sociocultural values.

The Economic Domination

The State has been making constant efforts to provide employment and remove poverty as also improve the economic conditions of the population in general. The plan and other economic documents of the State are replete with schemes and programmes meant for their upliftment. But the analysis of the developmental expenditure shows that the Tribals have least benefited from the implementation of these programmes and schemes. The analysis of the different levels of development shows that 40% of the Scheduled Tribes and Castes population are included in the 85% of the total population of the State falling below the poverty line. The growth rate of the State's annual income has been hardly 3% on an average over the past two decades. The Tribals inhabiting the hilly terrains and inaccessible areas of the State operate under rather difficult-conditions. Moreover schemes of general applicability have no relevance for their development. On the other hand the Tribal areas have been used as colonies of the outside world (Das, 1972). In addition the forest and mineral resources of the Tribal areas have been exploited in full to the detriment of the environmental and ecological balance of the State.

In other words, there is ample evidence to show that the Tribes are dominated both materially and intellectually by the advanced sections of the Society. One need not go on elaborating the physical and psychological pressures exerted on the Tribal communities as well. The planners have been ignorant of appropriate technology for development of the Tribal areas or the Tribal skills. These areas are developed along the lines of market economy with outdated doctrines. The forest products collected by the Tribes do not fetch them the amount that can be equated with their daily wages. The system of exchange in the Tribal areas is based on barter and monetization is almost non-existent. The Tribes still live on the forest fruits and tubers for more than half the year. The labour is highly unorganised and to that extent has no bargaining powers. The money lending institutional structure in the area is exploitative to the core. At least 1/4th of the Tribal population of the State exists in the form of bonded labour either under the money lenders or the contractors. Even the system of food-for-work has acted as a suppressive measure since it does not allow the growth of the human potential.

The welfare programmes so ardently being undertaken by the government have rendered the Tribal community a parasite of the society and the government. The evils like child labour and alcoholism persist to a great extent. In short the Tribal lacks the capital as also the skills to benefit from the modern economic development. His podu economy is not able to sustain him; rather it has made him the victim of exploitation and harassment by forest and revenue officials. The Tribal sub-plan though remains to be objectively evaluated, shows signs of misuse of public money by bureaucrats to reinforce their own power. In short the Tribals lack a self-reliant economy and an adequate rate of growth and until these are achieved, the Tribal population will remain backward and unstable, and full of conflicts.

The Political Scene

With the advent of independence the system of city states gave way to the broader framework of political activity in vogue in the Tribal areas which the Tribes were not prepared for. While the new system of Panchayati Raj has made efforts to substitute the traditional pattern of leadership, the elections to the State and National level legislatures, suddenly broadened their political role. The tribals did not quite fit into this new role and rather were a stranger to the entire performance style and structure of parliamentary democracy. The system thus expected a mature, wide and yet a crafty outlook from a Tribal for whom the political behaviour of national dimension was a strange world. The Tribal found himself locked up in broader political conflicts as against his limited village or clan situation without adequate training or orientation to handle them. The distribution of power system, processes of politics and the exercise of authority as also functioning of the political parties based on an ideological framework and election strategies made the Tribal lose his self-confidence, and did not offer him much in terms of his own world view.

Although much can be said about the Panchayati Raj institutions and political parties and their hierarchical structures, they had nothing in them to fit into the world view of the tribals. Consequently after independence, a new pattern of leadership emerged in the tribal areas and the traditional socio-political leaders in large

measure withdrew from the scene. In this leadership pattern a band of town-bred half-educated elites came forward who were in search of new identities. The opening of all the tribal areas with modern communications facilitated free exchange of ideas and helped the Tribal elites to play their role effectively. But, the hang-over of the traditional value systems was so strong, these elites instead of playing their role as catalysts for change and modernisation responded in a queer manner. Having failed to internalise the new political system to their advantage, they responded to the system in such a manner that could be termed as peripheral and even sometimes hostile. Unless a systematic political education is attempted and a real role perspective closer to the Tribal world view is brought home to the Tribes of this State, the situation is likely to bring about further instability in the political future of the State.

The Religious Imbroglio

In the Tribal society the traditional leader has also been the religious leader. He carried charisma with him and promulgated a code of conduct for the Tribals. The code of conduct, however, contains a large number of taboos and superstitions which, with slight variations¹, are common to almost all the Tribes in this State. The Tribal traditions do not permit sudden or mass scale innovation and change in the religious sanctions which are deep rooted in the sum total of the individual's life style-nay-in the social milieu. By and large the religious belief system was based on animism and zoolatry.

The majority of the State's population consists of Hindus, believing primarily in pantheism, but observing a variety of rites and rituals as also different tenets based on mythology and scriptures. Hinduism because of its all absorbing capacity has also engulfed in it some of the different Tribal rituals though keeping the Tribes out of its core fold. The non-too-religious and secular code of conduct of the Tribes has to some extent welcomed Christianity, which was somewhat egalitarian, but its impact was neutralised by movements of Sanskritisation and Hinduisiation. All these created a religious confusion in the mind of the Tribe, who, however, cannot resist the temptations of better avenues of life in towns and cities provided by the modern educational and social

system. In any case the different religious movements initiated in the Tribal areas placed the Tribal in an imbroglio, where from he could hardly free himself. Neither he could assess the role of religion in the social and intellectual evolution, nor could he overcome the alien religious onslaughts on his own traditional value system. As a consequence, he lost his identity, as he had no ready-made alternative philosophy to offer to the outside religions which were not only deeply entrenched in their own systematology but also were superior in terms of tactics in propagation and proselytization. Since religion and politics got mixed up in the Tribal mind, he started identifying himself with the movements for social change which also meant for him a political change. Devoid of a comprehensively recorded and scientific belief system in combination with the age-old social inertia he could hardly respond to the alien religions nor could he revitalise his own value system. In other words, the sanctions of the Tribal religion were too weak to defend themselves or provide an alternative. Thus the Tribal society neither could initiate a social transformation nor could sustain its elites to manage the social and religious tensions created in the community.

Anthropologists, have, however, come out with certain analyses where the Tribal religion in general had much to offer in terms of humanism and social panacea. Nevertheless it is observed that the Tribal elites, who acquired new skills for enhancing their socio-political powers became victims of complex situations and did much harm to the Tribal ethos. Instead of building up a pressure group for the benefit of the Tribes, they have limited leaderships of the cities and have often become instruments of exploitation of their own kinsmen. These elites, besides being a loss to the community to which they belonged, have also lost the political balance of power; though, quite often they have attempted to tamper with it. A process of modernisation with a self-contained doctrine with or without the help of the existing socio-religious elites need be injected to the Tribal way of life, if a revitalised society has to be established.

Linguistic Divisiveness

None of the Tribal languages have been recognised as 'Official' under the Constitution. Nevertheless, of late these languages are

being improved and systematised through private and official efforts. Paradoxically the Oriya has been made the medium of instruction all over the State and 'Oriyaisation' is almost complete. This to a great extent has affected the learning process of the Tribal child and become a hindrance to his development at a faster pace. The slow process of learning also retarded the growth of Tribal awareness of the outside world. The problem of education thus remains an enigma for the Tribal folks and very few of them catch up with alien techniques of learning. With the inherent defects in the system of education being imported all over and coming from an altogether different linguistic world the Tribal has taken quite a long time for his acculturation. The social and educational integration of the Tribal community with the advanced sections of the society, therefore, has been badly delayed.

The linguistic patch work initiated by some Tribes like innovation of a Santhali script in Mayurbhanj are further alienating the Tribe to a great extent from the rest of the society. While the script lacks clarity, legibility and capacity for easy manipulation, its inventors have been trying to foist it on the community and the detractors are determined to crush it. It is, however, to be understood that liquidation of a language does not necessarily liquidate a society. Though the isolationist ideas of the propounders of the new script have not met with any success, nevertheless the situation may lead to social and political tensions. For proper appreciation of the linguistic differences and to bring harmony in the social processes it would be of relevance to study in depth the different Tribal languages and transform them into fresh vehicles for communicating appropriate ideas. Only such steps will help in the reorganisation of the existing confused state of affairs and rearrangement of the chaotic social order.

The Caste Prejudice

The Tribal folks belong to a distinctly separate race from the rest of the communities of the State. They have no ethnic affinity with them and the racial distance is supported by a large number of socio-cultural taboos from both the sides. While the Tribals term the non-Tribals as 'dikus', the others call the Tribals as 'mlechhas'. Each seems to be operating in a closed system and with efforts

for maintaining purity of the group, segregation is bound to result. Thus prejudice seems to be congenital in the system that has prevailed over the ages.

As stated above the racial prejudice is based on mythology and mysticism. This also has led to segregated habitats and in certain cases to the practice of untouchability. This racial philosophy has given rise to the caste system that has atomised the country and the society. Such a divided society from within can never open itself for the Tribes or other minorities. The hazards are many and reflect the psychological overtones of a superior subordinate relationship in a majority-minority role, the Tribes being in minority. In such a situation, despite the shibboleths of racial tolerance and religious harmony, the distinctive and divisive characteristics remain a force to reckon with.

Thus the integration of the Fourth World with the third world has not been possible due to the absence of a social consciousness and the State remains a federation of caste groups, a pluralistic society with caste prejudices equal to the colour or racial prejudices prevailing in other countries. Dr. Ambedkar aptly describes the Indian social hierarchy as having been based on ascending scale of reverence and descending order of contempt. It goes without saying that the lower caste groups usually the outcastes, and in this case the Tribes who are treated as even worse than animals, fall within the slot of the Fourth World.

It must be made clear that segregation or separate development is not the answer because of a very closely knit symbiotic nature of human ecology. The existing theories of development or concepts of growth or processes of change do not apply to the members of the fourth world community. Various models of development, have been tried without success. The British in India tried the central planned development model during the 40's. Gandhiji conceived material and cultural level of development besides the concepts of trusteeship, cottage industries and decentralisation. The Five Year Plans gave emphasis on agricultural production to be followed by industrial revolution. The modern systems and growth models of GNP followed by the basic needs and basic services approaches and planning from below have also been tried.

But none of these efforts have made any dent on developing the fourth world. Rather the gap between the third and the fourth

world has become wider and the same principles of market economy, and economic colonialism have broken the backbone of the fourth world. Thus the development framework has not undergone any change and the whole process has become a square peg in a round hole.

Even in terms of ideology one can chart the process that has taken place. The proponents of socialism overtook and substituted those of capitalism. It was thought that socialism, which was adopted as a process of modernisation in the capitalist system would solve the ills of the society and the economy. Even in some capitalist system public sector was given a trial. It is lately learnt that in countries like U.S.S.R. and China the phenomenon of private sector and the concept of the private property is gradually being inducted. It is a matter of common knowledge that the fourth world also exists and prevails in these countries wedded to the philosophy of social and economic equality and State ownership of the means of production.

This shows that both the capitalist system of production and distribution as also the socialist system have failed to handle the problem of the fourth world in an effective manner to ensure economic equality and social justice. In other words, both the harmony model with its trickle down process of change and the conflict model with its aggressive upliftment of the poor through the mechanisms of cultural or political revolution have failed to improve the lot of the fourth world.

It is in this context that a new model and a new paradigm need to be evolved by social and political scientists. The present thought process gets distorted by reference to the First, Second and the Third World. The new model that could be discussed and designed is the voluntary model of development, a humanistic ideology and an altruistic attitude of one towards the other. This model is yet to find place in the scheme of thought and action in the world. If the fourth world has to be developed, a new design of needs and services, a fresh set of economic and social inputs, new mechanisms of delivering the services, new institutions and organisations have to be formulated. Only then, survival and growth of the fourth world can be a possibility and without this we would only be touching upon the surface of the problem.

In order to execute the voluntary model, certainly a new type of personnel, a freshly conceived agency and an altogether different

system of management would be required. In my view, no discipline either in the University or in the administrative systems can cater to the needs of the new model, except the discipline of social work, which is nearest to it. Hence, the need for redefining and reorienting its objectives and priorities. This seems to be the biggest challenge to the trained social workers of the country. The question is how to do it?

Information on the new perceptions of social work is not lacking. Siddqui's thesis on Social Work and Social Action itself can form the basis. The different components, the various tactics, the new vision of social action should be analysed giving shape to the model. (Siddiqui, 1984)

The major problems of the fourth world are among others poverty, ill-health, malnutrition, low quality of human resource, low productivity, higher mortality, shorter span of life etc. Combined with these are poor educational levels, inadequate infrastructure and under-utilization of man power, besides low aspiration level and insular attitudes. The suggested model therefore can have the following major components among others.¹

1. Life Saving—Ultimate Objective

The problem of survival is the basic question that haunts the fourth world. The social worker need not get into sophisticated technocratic exercises nor high social or political philosophies, but a simple pragmatic action at individual and community level to revitalise the self-sustaining mechanism already in existence. To this end the available local resources in terms of human potential and natural assets should be utilised. In fact a life raising and life saving model can be formulated for the social worker. The norms of poverty need to be redefined and a concept of survival level in stead of poverty level based on per capita income or nutrition standard, should be developed.

2. Adjustive Prioritization

The second component of this model can be an adjustive prioritization. The life saving model would provide for appropriate policy reorientation and programme restructuring while identifying key factors of development. A well-conceived hierarchy of

needs worked out in consultation with the people should form the core of this component. The weakest areas and the weaker groups of people in the demographic spectrum would be attended on priority. Proper time and cost sequence will help the prioritisation of needs and services. This I call the adjustive prioritisation.

3. Neomorphous Organisation

To-day plans and programmes are being superimposed from planners and administrators. They are also being implemented ruthlessly without creating the staying power (Nayak, 1981) This is because people's knowledge, local skills and their participation are not taken as resources. To-day the bureaucrat says, I manage and you participate. Hence a definite organisational structure, which is participatory, without a pre-fabricated design borrowed from ancient or foreign models should be constituted. This I call neomorphous organisation which can take the shape of self-help or mutual-help society based on social or cultural or even geographical parameters. These new institutions can take the shape of Israeli Kibutzs or the Chinese Communes short of their deficiencies. It can grow out of the present practice of 'shared poverty' in the rural areas and can have revolving funds and individual house-hold memberships.

4. Neogenetic Programmes.

The programmes should be location-specific, people-specific and culture-specific and also local talent-specific. The local customs, traditions and practices as also existing grass root institutions should form the basis of the programmes. These may be termed as neogenetic.

Programmes of large dimensions and high costs should be avoided so as not to confuse the common man. They should be voluntary so as to ensure participation. The programme should be so implemented that it does not become a tool in the hands of the rich.

5. An innovative communication

A proper media should be adopted for communication and

information diffusion and to develop skills, knowledge and awareness among the people. Media systems like television, radio etc. have no meaning for the poor. Folk songs, folk dances based on folk themes should be developed and a new model based on participatory communication formulated.

6. Committed Catalyst

Our survey shows that people prefer volunteers. The social worker should advocate and organise the voluntary sector and create commitment and altruism in the voluntary workers. He needs to be a catalyst without political, religious or personal linkages, should avoid traditional authoritarian or paternalistic ideologies. The voluntary sector model would vary from place to place and people to people and from problem to problem.

The above in short is the alternative model for the fourth world scenario say in Tribal or Harijan situation which needs to be further developed.

Surely, a word about the structure and organisation of the voluntary sector model may be of relevance at this stage. To make it theoretically sound, the model needs to be researched into and made operational so as to take adequate care of all the elements of a productive praxis. In operationalising the model, the need of the hour is to train voluntary workers to take care of the situation not only at the level of elites, but more importantly to reorient para-professional or part time lay social workers to work at the grass-root level and in rural setting. Although the concept, practice and role of such workers is gradually emerging in the State of Orissa through the aegis of the National Institute of Social Work & Social Sciences, a comprehensive model need to be worked out in order to meet the challenge of the Fourth World.

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

P. Ilango

Social work education in India will be completing fifty years in 1986. Theoretically, it has come of age, but in practice, it is struggling to ensure a reasonable standard of professional education. Subsequently, the development of the profession in India, in spite of its diversified nature, has suffered a number of set-backs and inadequacies with a sheer lack of social relevance. Social work education in India began 50 years ago as an adaptation of the education programme in the United States of America, where social welfare services were meant "to assist people in their adjustment to an industrial, urban and metropolis dominated social milieu" (University Grants Commission, 1978).

The most important factor that has to be taken cognizance of, in the social work education is the cultural component of social work practice. Ability to work in conformity with people's culture, or a sub-culture within a given society, is intrinsic to the effective practice of social work (United Nations, 1958). Hence, there is a need for teaching social work with due understanding of the socio-cultural factors and consequently for preparing indigenous material for teaching social work. One of the important guiding principles of social work education is that, while relying on western materials for teaching, there is a need to adapt the materials to suit the Indian conditions (Desai, 1985).

Introduction:

Writing about Community Development in India one of the

authors has stated that professional social workers had played almost no role in Community development work (Gangrade, 1971). The rural India has been neglected by professional social workers (Pathak, 1976) Ranade (1974) expressed the view that professionally trained social workers are only marginally equipped for undertaking community development/welfare work. According to the First Review Committee on Social Work Education (1965) professional social workers do not find employment in community development even after having specialised in that area. This is probably because of the wide gap between theory and practice of social work. If social work is to obtain a perspective which is Indian and field-based, as envisaged by Dr. Clifford Manshardt, the founding Director of Tata Institute of Social Sciences, it is necessary for us to move social work education from the narrow confines of post graduate studies, and to prepare front line, grass-root level workers for work with large masses of people who live in rural poverty in India. The curriculum will then need to broaden out from the usual inter-disciplinary work with the professions of medicine, psychiatry and law to agrobased professionals, rural engineers and architects and stretch itself to include indigeneous systems such as in medicine. It will have to shift more radically from institutional to non-institutional and community based social action (Desai, 1985).

Problems in the existing curriculum

One of the major draw-backs in the existing curriculum for community development in social work education in India is the lack of uniformity of curriculum in the various schools and departments of social work. This lack of uniformity is found in both the theoretical orientation and the field practicum and laboratory exercises. Moreover, there is a basic controversy regarding the need for specialisation in community development or even in the other areas. The Second Review Committee on Social Work Education of the University Grants Commission (1980) has stated categorically that the specialisation no longer justifies its inclusion in the social work curriculum. However, senior professionals involved in social work education seem to continue making a

strong plea to continue with the specialisation system. The obvious reason for this is the great demand on the part of the students for specialisations in view of the job market. There are some schools and departments which offer a generic course where in community development constitutes just one or two theoretical papers and a minimal field work training is offered in community development. On the other hand, schools and departments which offer a specialisation in community development, inspite of having more theoretical and practical orientation, lack uniformity, with regard to the number and contents of papers, nature of field work training, supervision, research and evaluation of social work trainees.

A rapid increase in the number of Institutions for social work education during the sixties and seventies without ensuring a basic infrastructure of trained staff and field work facilities has contributed considerably to lowering the overall standard of professional education in the country (Nanavaty, 1985). The survey undertaken in 1975 by the Second Review Committee for social work education showed that there were 34 social work institutions. At present, there are almost 45 Institutions in the country, all established within the University system, either as affiliated single faculty Colleges or Departments of multi-faculty colleges or Universities (Desai 1985). Many of the Institutions of recent origin lack the basic infrastructure of trained staff and field work facilities. The policies of the universities regarding affiliation of these Institutions seem to be highly arbitrary. This is evident from the fact that some universities grant affiliation to Institutions offering undergraduate programme in Social Work whereas the others grant affiliation to only those Institutions offering a post graduate programme. With regard to the minimum qualification required for admission to post graduate course, there is diversity among the universities and colleges. For instance, some universities direct the colleges and departments to take in only candidates who have Bachelors degree in Arts subjects, whereas some other universities approved the selection of even science graduates. Yet another aspect of diversity lies in the policies related to the work load of social work teachers. Matters concerning the special areas of social work educators work like field work training and supervision and research guidance are not given sufficient attention by the concerned authorities. These factors have an adverse effect on the quality of social work education in the country.

Problems in Field Work Training for Community Development:

Social work educators have been frequently criticised for the vagueness which surrounds the planning, organisation and definition of field work placements in community development (Holmes and Bryant, 1977). At present the social work teachers carry out mainly the responsibility of only supervising the students' work in the placement situation. It would be far better if they also involve themselves in deciding what varieties and styles of community development work the students will experience. There is also a certain amount of uncertainty with regard to the definition of practice skills in community development. Two related objectives are appropriate for field work placements of community development students. First, the community placements should provide social work students with a basic introduction to, how particular community development agencies operate, and the types and range of issues, problems and controversies that influence the activities of development workers. Here, the educational emphasis should be on the student gaining some general insights into the mechanics and functions of community development work, which may be useful in the students' future work in a community setting. Secondly, the use of field work placements for the teaching of practice skills in community development work. This needs the direct teaching of practice skills which takes us into the more problematic and controversial area of field work training. The 'practice skills' are essentially concerned with the basic ingredients of doing community development work.

Research in Community Development Training:

A number of facts can be stated with reference to this particular aspect of social work training. Community development workers are well placed to know that the relationship between knowledge, facts and action is problematic; and they will rightly be sceptical about the contribution of research because of the way research, expensive of time and funds, can be used as an alternative to action as a form of delay and diversion (Lambert, 1977). This is probably the reason why there is very little emphasis given

to systematic and scientific research investigation, by the social work educators as well as trainees working in the area of community development. What they do is mainly in terms of assessing the socio-economic status of communities, identifying their needs and problems and other general aspects related to communities. Unlike the other areas of specialization, there is hardly any attempt to go beyond identifying needs and problems, to help the communities solve their problems or get their needs met and to establish the usefulness and efficiency of social work methodology in working with communities.

Evaluating and Assessing Students of Community Development:

In social work, considerable stress is placed on evaluation and assessment. The problems associated with evaluation and assessment is again that of absence of uniformity among the various schools and departments of social work. Sometimes students can be the victim of supervisors' eccentricity. In some schools students are in a position and have a marginal influence upon the criteria of assessment. Standards of supervision in community development training vary tremendously and consequently, this creates anomalies in the assessment of students. A problem is the way in which the knowledge, that an assessment has to be done at the end of the field work placement, creates an anxiety in most students to produce 'results' (Salmon, 1977).

In this connection, it is worth stressing that assessments should begin with a clear statement of students assignment. This is particularly important in community development work where very often the educators are very uncertain about the nature of community development work. It is also important because a student's performance can only be evaluated against the opportunities provided by the agency, which is only a matter of chance. Often it is a matter of very delicate judgement whether a piece of work comes to nothing because of the failings of the students or because of the nature of the situation. It is essential that safeguards and checks are built into such a complex process as assessment.

To conclude, a great deal of responsibility lies ahead for the profession if it is to justify its existence in the forth-coming decades

as it moves forward to a century in which it will either have to prove itself or find itself become irrelevant to the social context with which it is confronted. Attempts should be made in social work curriculum development, to develop curricula based on a systematic process, consisting of identification of the social realities, the level and type of learners and available subject matter. The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay has already made a leap forward in surveying the existing social work curriculum in different parts of the country, enlisting the opinions of social work educators with regard to curriculum development and co-ordinating the various attempts to modify the existing conditions. However, this major responsibility lies with all professionals and institutions involved in social work education.

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SOCIAL WORK APPROACH TO TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT.

P. Koteswar Raju

For a discussion on 'Social Work Approach to Tribal Development', it is imperative to look into the concepts such as tribe and development and tribal development. It is also pertinent to discuss the various approaches of tribal development to know how social work approach to tribal development can be more useful than other approaches.

The Concepts:

Leaving aside the complexities of semantics over the term tribe, in its simplest form it can be understood as a group or community of people with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialisation of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance from tribes or castes but without any stigma attached as in the case of a caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, of naturalisation of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of a homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration. (Naik, T.B, 1968:86).

The term scheduled tribe, used frequently is of recent origin, an operational definition adopted by Government of India, to denote those tribal groups who are included in the schedule of the Indian Constitution for the purpose of granting special privileges to these groups. Scheduled tribes are more backward socially, economically, educationally and culturally than the advanced tribal groups

and hence the latter are excluded from the schedule. Thus we have two groups in tribes—the scheduled and non-scheduled. The following suggested social work approach while contributing for the development of the tribes in general, stresses more on the kind of changes that ought to be initiated and engineered for improving the conditions of the scheduled tribes.

The term development is a dynamic concept in all its dimensions. It is an all-pervading human activity discovering the latent potentialities and mobilising them to achieve the desired social goals. The supply of natural and human resources, effective popular participation, administrative capability, growth of scientific and technological knowledge all these have a bearing on the objectives of development (Singh, 1984: 113).

In general, development is considered as a desired state, achieved through planned action (Venkata Rao, 1982:1). Literally, development implies an orderly movement of an organism or a social system from a lower level of functioning to a higher level of functioning and integration. The lower-higher continuum may be stated in terms of certain quantitative values on the other hand, it also implies same qualitative changes reflected in the capacity of a community to respond to the more complex and remote objects in environment with a complex and varying response (Singh, 1984: 1).

Development of a community, in general, implies not merely progress taking place but also the capacity or potential for continued progress in future. Progress refers in this context, apart from fulfilment of the essential needs like food, clothing and shelter, to the realisation by the community of certain enduring characteristics like self-reliance, formation of positive attitudes to welfare, effective participation in programmes for common welfare, identification with larger interests, responsible use of common utilities and amenities, acquisition of skills for judicious use of natural resources, etc. (Balakrishna et al, 1982: 360).

Integrated development has been defined as development and utilisation of local resources by bringing about the necessary institutional, structural and attitudinal changes and by creating infrastructural facilities through economic and social methods and programmes (Vittal, 1982: 611).

In addition, development has to be seen not only as economic progress but also in terms of improved quality of life, cultural

regeneration, social justice and cohesion, and political awareness and empowerment (Kishore Saint, 1980: 223).

Thus, development represents an increase in the capacities of the society to organise for its own objectives and to carry out its programmes more effectively. It also envisages a re-organisation of existing relationships of the members of the particular community for which development plan is intended in an enduring and long lasting manner. Thus, the notion of development is laden with human purpose as moulded by social values (Dwarikanath, 1967: 4).

Development—a reference to tribal situation:

According to Singh, the problem of defining development becomes more acute when one tries to apply the concept in a tribal context. Development can be considered from economic, social, political or technological point of view. But in tribal societies it might not be possible to look at each of these aspects as separate entities. Thus, the very nature of the society demands a holistic approach (Singh, 1984: 113).

One can use the term 'development-lag' to explain the differentials of development amongst the tribes. Development implies a reorganisation of existing relationships of the members of the community, to increase its ability in effective organisation. But such a reorganisation is not welcomed by all the tribal groups, particularly those that are tuned to its traditional organisation through preserving the existing relations and organisation. This is evident from the fact that people in the developing countries desire for benefits of development within the rhythm of their traditional life and social frame work and more particularly so with tribals.

In discussing the development of tribal areas, one has to remember that the tribal areas themselves are at varying levels of development and the problems of one area are sometimes different from those of another. Similarly, there is a qualitative difference between the conditions of the tribals in the plains and those of the hill regions. These differences are found manifesting in their ability for acculturation and articulation and levels of development.

According to Kulkarni the nature of underdevelopment is such that under development of the area and the backwardness of the

people both reinforce each other. Underdevelopment of the area arises from lack of proper coordinated and balanced utilization of the resources and these are tied down with the 'resource' complex' of the people, to borrow from Walter Firey's terminology (Firey, 1960). This concept of resource complex takes note of the cultural appraisal of resources prevailing among the population.

The utilisation of the resources to the optimum level without coordinating the cultural appraisal and ability of the people might lead to the exploitation of the people. In such an eventuality, while the area might be developed the people might remain backward, because development of the area takes place by bringing skilled people and other factors of production from outside, in this case the non-tribal area, without equipping the local population with the talent, tools, and training to participate in the area development. On the other hand, if efforts are mainly directed to improve the tribal by educating him, giving him training in different vocations, sanctioning freeships for his education, establishing hostels for his free lodging and boarding and reservation of posts in Government and Government aided departments and establishments, development of people would take place (Kulkarni, 1974: 334).

Muthayya, Naidu and Anneruddin also give a similar caution that experience with various rural development programmes in the earlier plan has revealed that mere project approach is not adequate to achieve the overall development of the area and distribution of benefits to the local people, particularly those identified as below the poverty line. Therefore, it was thought necessary to make the programme area-specific and utilise the local endowments for growth with social justice and for full employment.

This approach was intended to integrate the field programmes reflecting the economic activities of the rural families whose employment and development are basic objectives. The active involvement and participation of the people for whom the development programmes are meant, are thought to be essential for greater impact of the programmes and to make it more meaningful to them (Muthayya, et al, 1983: 318).

Singh questions the validity of the various development approaches such as development as intended for growth of income; development as social progress; development for integration and development for liberation. He concludes that in a tribal area real

development cannot take place unless the tribes themselves participate in the development dialogue. According to him, the problem (development) will not be solved until the non-tribes accept the need for entering into a dialogue with tribes. Thereby they have an opportunity to question the values and pre-suppositions on the basis of which non-tribes have assumed the responsibility of developing them (Singh, 1984: 5).

~ It is aptly reminded by Claude Alvares that any development in its real prerogative should contribute more good than evil and more happiness than misery. Development should not generate masses of victims in its wake, as is happening, often, and the targeted groups for whom the programmes are designed should not be crippled by its process. It should not be thrust or rooted in manipulation, coercion or subsidy. He comes out with a sharp criticism that unfortunately in India, at present, development is not taking place as desired above. Rather development is a con-game. It is a form of plunder, finally, it must lead to tirade. Alvares strongly advocates that the people of the third world should be able to react at these by growing awareness and involvement so that they can protect themselves from this tirade. (Claude Alvares, 1986: 28).

The above discussion highlights the precautions to be taken regarding tribal development. Tribal development is different from development of the other communities and unless they are helped to develop on the lines of their own genius, as dreamt by the founding fathers, any amount of over enthusiasm may prove fatal and detrimental to their very cause, as was the experience of the past planning.

Approaches of Tribal Development:

The present policy orientation of developing the tribes in accordance with their own native genius had not emerged smoothly. There have been many debates and controversies over the strategy to be adopted to develop them. Various ideologies regarding the nature of intervention for tribal development were advanced by various people such as social workers, anthropologists, politicians and administrators.

Before the advent of British in India tribals were relatively left

to themselves. To the British the tribal areas were a source of revenue rather than areas to be administered positively. The British policy of insulating the tribal areas from the rest of the country by keeping off the tribals in excluded and partially excluded areas led to their stagnation.

Such a policy was further responsible for the sordid exploitation and untold misery which eventually led to dislocation of tribal economy and consequent frustration and unrest among tribals. They were cut off from the mainstream of India's social and economic life. In the name of conservation and preservation of forests, the tribals were deprived of the forest produce which was the main source of their sustenance. In this situation, the forest contractor and the money lender, under whom the tribals had to work, became the agents of exploitation.

Lands having been alienated, entangled in debts and bondage, the tribals revolted in many areas resulting in disturbances. To mention a few: revolt of Pahadias in 1982, Santal rebellion of 1855: Sardar aggression, 1887; the Birsa movement of 1895 and Fituris in Andhra, etc. The Government of India Acts of 1870, 1915, 1919, and 1935 were all aimed at mitigating some of the sufferings of the tribals. These represented progressive stages in the evolution of excluded and partially excluded areas and afforded to the tribes a measure of political representation in legislative bodies. In the words of late Sri U.N. Debbar, review of the conditions of the tribals before independence goes to show that the policy of isolation and drift means nothing more than a maintenance of 'status quo'. It resulted in reducing the tribals to a state of penury in most parts of India (Debbar, 1961: 30).

Ghurye concludes that the British policy of 'leave them alone' is only apparent. Because the British never hesitated to intervene or to mop up whenever any untoward tendency, detrimental to their colonial interest, was sensed among tribal folk. Some times through brutal suppression and quite often through indirect involvement by the method of appeasement of tribal chiefs, and other influential elite groups, they succeeded in deriving maximum political benefit. The main policy of the British was to secure peace and not necessarily to help the people to advance on the road to progress either by integration with the plains Hindus or otherwise (Ghurye, 1963:79).

Some of the anthropologists, before and after independence, have

been advocating a policy of isolation and for a policy of non-interference in tribal areas in order to allow primitive tribes to live according to their own wishes. Some Anthropologists highlighted the need for the policy of isolation as they observed that in so many instances the opening of the area to the non-tribes and their contacts with native people brought so much of degeneration and at times a decline or a tendency to decline in their population due to 'loss of nerve.' Elwin goes to the extent of advocating for a sort of 'national park' where the simpler tribal people can be sheltered from the consequences of 'culture contact.'

But other anthropologists believe that keeping in mind the cultural processes of India where little traditions of the tribal people have gone into the making of the classical tradition of the land and where the elements of the classical tradition have percolated back to the tribal people, the isolation and special cultural emphasis cannot be emphasised beyond a point.

Unregulated cultural contact can have injurious, even lethal effects, and evidence from tribal India does not in any way contradict it. At the other extreme is the view that a grave problem involving possible extinction of the tribes exists. The remedy of isolating the tribes effectively appears to be as desperate as the diagnosis, for, it ignores certain vital processes of culture. Tribes may provide a satisfactory aesthetic model but even the most splendid tribal isolation would not solve some of their problems, the existence of which is recognised by the tribal people themselves.

The assimilation of the tribal people with the rest of the population is another approach and is seen as a continuous process. In India the tribal people have come in contact with various communities and it has lead to assimilation in different ways.

Some social service agencies, religious and political organisations have advocated for the assimilation of tribes with the larger society. Social Workers of the past such as Thakkar Baba advocated a policy of assimilation by which it was thought that problems such as poverty, illiteracy, lack of communication, ill-health, and lack of leadership can be tackled and solutions found to the problems of the tribal people. He notes that separation and isolation are dangerous theories and strike at the root of national solidarity. (Vidhyarthi, 1968: 123). Dube also notes a similar opinion that the problem of the aboriginal and hill tribes lies not in

their isolation but in their limited contacts with certain segments of the main body of the community (Dube, 1973: 46).

Thakkar accused the anthropologists of advocating isolation of tribes in inaccessible hills and jungles for keeping them in glass cases of museum for the curiosity of academic persons. Taking a humanitarian approach he advocated the policy of assimilation. He thought that unless the aborigines realised, through contacts with the more advanced people their own backwardness in the social, economic and political fields, they will not make any progress.

Voluntary social service agencies had done considerable work in the tribal areas but often their idealism and spirit of service have not been matched by their understanding of tribal organisation, values and problems. They sometimes went into the tribal areas with an omnibus solution to the tribal problem as they understood it, while in reality the problem of different tribal groups and even for sections of one tribe, were often different. Their motives were probably laudable in their own cultural frame of reference, but not so according to the tribal scheme of values. They failed to realise that their well-intentioned reforms may be injurious to the tribes in terms of their socio-cultural integration (Dube, 1968: 109).

The religious approach is mainly a process of conversion. Both Hindu and Christian religious missionaries had a mammoth programme for converting the tribal people. There were a lot of conversions also. If the conversion of tribes to a new faith adds to their social solidarity, without alienating them from the majority of the neighbouring communities, and equips them better for participation in modern life, it can not reasonably be opposed. But if it detribalises and disintegrates these communities without offering them any alternative, the approach can hardly be said to be offering them any serious solution to the tribal problem. But unfortunately the latter has happened more often than the former.

The political approach was such that during the period of British rule itself a separate political identity in the form of excluded and partially excluded area act, was given. This kind of recognition is continued even after independence in one form or the other. There are some people who suggest a solution to the problem by political means alone. The movements for an independent state for Naga or the autonomous Jharkhand are but some examples on those lines. But, as cautioned by Dube, these are to be

viewed not only from the point of view of tribals but also against the wider canvas of regional and national interests.

Thus, the primitive conditions of tribal life, their vulnerability to economic exploitation, the existing socio-psychological barriers due to isolation necessitated a cautious and phased approach for the development of the tribal areas.

In this context the ideology propounded by the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is most commendable. He notes that we can not allow matters to drift in the tribal area. At the same time we should avoid over administering these areas. It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. The avenues of development should, however, be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles. This approach is now popularly known as integration approach, where the main thrust is to develop tribals slowly and steadily without suddenly uprooting them from their traditional cultural moorings. The principles are:—

1. People should be developed along the lines of their own genius;
2. Tribals' rights in lands and forests should be respected;
3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people;
4. We should not over-administer these areas or over-whelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions;
5. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amounts of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

Majumdar also opines that this desired integration of the tribal groups in the national democratic structure of India must be planned and piloted with due consideration to the 'cultural matrix and pattern of the social groups concerned (Majumdar, 1973:27).

The progressive growth oriented policies of the Indian Government intended for tribal development at present as being mostly influenced by the principles enunciated by Nehru, for gradual integration of the scheduled tribes into the matrix of the nation's main stream of social life by a process of change that comes from within.

Now we shall examine how best social work values and knowledge, tools and techniques, means and methods can be used for the realisation of the objective of tribal development on the desired lines as spelled out above.

Social Work Approach to Tribal Development:

As has been desired by the policy framers, the functionaries require orientation training in tribal life with a social work perspective. Firstly, the functionary should accept the tribal population as it is and where it is. This only can help achieve the goal set by the late Prime Minister, Nehru that the tribes should be developed along the lines of their own genius.

The functionary should develop an attitude of thorough understanding and appreciation of tribal culture and genuine liking for the people and an understanding of their problems. He should respect the individual, the group and the community with which he is working.

The functionary should also observe the principle of the client's right to self-determination. It is a commonly shared belief that in developing societies, particularly in the context of the tribal world, people do not make their own decisions for one reason or another. Unless this opinion is given up and efforts at encouraging them in decision-making are taken up meticulously, what would happen is a thrusting of the programme upon the native people rather than one of helping them.

The programmes of tribal development can be successful if the people are involved in the development programmes. It is imperative that the development functionary should develop an effective relationship with the tribal people to be able to achieve the goals of the organisation. This should ultimately result in something like conscious use of professional self as in the case of social work practice. This implies the development of sensitivity to the problems of people and yet have an objective approach so that the tendency to plan for the people can be avoided.

One of the principles of community organisation practice is to organise people to harness their resources or realising their felt-needs. This involves the perception of felt needs by the administrator as well as the people, hence empathy on the part of the administrator is essential. In addition the development functionary should also know when to intervene and how to intervene. Based on the socio-psychological characteristics of the individual tribe and his present predicament and nature of help he needs, the functionary should act.

In this age of rapid social changes, a heavy responsibility rests

on the development worker in respect of helping people to help themselves in making timely and judicious decisions, when the people are confronted with the problem of choosing between alternatives. This is not, in any way, an easy task. One who is not trained would find it extremely difficult to locate and identify the felt-needs of the people, involve them—and get their active cooperation and participation in arriving at rational decisions.

As far as administration is concerned, as rightly suggested by Mathur, there is an imperative need for an integrated approach, with a common philosophy of service and assistance to the people who must be organised and allowed to make their own efforts for total development. The administration should not fail in identifying the real interest of the region and welfare of the people. The people being simple, honest and humble, deserve every attention by the administration and this is possible only by sheer dedication to duty.

It is generally observed by so many researchers that coordination is lacking among the various departments working in the area. There is lack of commonality of goals within Government departments. Even the voluntary organisations are not an exception to this kind of situation. Hence efforts should be made to coordinate the work of the various departments and organisations to avoid wastage of efforts and resources.

As cautioned by Mr. Sangma, the former Chief Minister of Meghalaya, one lesson from past experience that can not be ignored is that the gap between theory and practice has all along been widening. What appears to be sound and logical in theory has often turned out to be unworkable and the consequent mis-direction of resources has been colossal, and, disillusionment and apathy have spread along with the gulf between promise and performance. Apart from every thing else, this is a serious mistake for a democracy to make. The point really is to blend the expertise of the theoreticians with the practical understanding of public affairs possessed by public-men and to formulate policies based on knowledge, inspired by public purpose and implemented with practical ability (Sangma, 1974:24)

Regarding the changes that ought to come from within the tribes themselves, they should be helped to liberate themselves from the old value system of superstitions and obsolete beliefs to that of the present cause and effect relationships. This change should be

carefully engineered on the basis of creativity, the liberation of human energies, scientific exploitation of resources of all kinds and the value of betterment.

Change here refers to both structural and functional changes. The old social institutions such as feudalism serfdom and bondage should be effectively tackled and in their place the new egalitarian institutions in terms of a shift in the pattern of the social life with a new common cooperative orientation should be created.

This kind of structural changes can undoubtedly bring about changes in the functions and organisational sphere of tribal life. Changes in the norms and values underlying social institutions, an increasing universalistic ethic, an expansion in empirical knowledge and consequent rational behaviour would also occur as a concomitant of structural changes. With the internalisation and institutionalisation of new beliefs and values, the character of the society also changes. The development functionary should work with this perspective and for this end. Such an approach would enable people to perceive the scope for upward mobility and generate the confidence to endeavour for betterment.

Whenever there are changes, whether planned or unplanned, some cultural imbalance is bound to occur. The development administrator should take precautions to minimise the imbalance as best as possible. Even though change is a necessary condition for development, every change in itself is not development, unless it is well directed. The development administration should realise very clearly that in the name of rapid economic change it should not contribute directly or indirectly, to the degeneration of local customs and values which have been cherished for generations.

Reddy rightly suggests that the workers' objective is to enable communities to absorb change without experiencing disruption, and also to bring about improvements that the people themselves have planned and wish to be introduced. Certainly the process is slow, but the duty of the social worker is to become a catalyst and stimulate people to find their own solutions to their problems. It is also the duty of the social worker to have a coherent plan of action. Without this, our intentions are not comprehended and our efforts are squandered (Reddy, 1986: 213). He further quotes the United Nations document that the primary role of a social worker is to help regulate the speed, integration and direction of social change as well as to act as a catalyst in the initial identification

of deficiencies in social provision in the local community and in bringing together appropriate community leaders to study the need and to involve a larger part of the community, through existing or newly created organisations, in meeting it' (United Nations, 1958, Training for Social Work: Third International Survey, New York U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs).

One of the criticism levelled against the present development programmes is that the programmes are leading to material prosperity without ethical discipline of hard work, thrift, saving and investment and tend to cause social disruption instead of bringing about social development (Council for Social Development, 1984: 5). This is because of the fact that the target-oriented strategies overlook one of the two major components of social change, those two components being: the development of human beings and the refinements of their circumstances through external—technological and material—means; and the development of human beings and the refinements of their circumstances through internal—increased social and intellectual awareness. The first component is easier to put in place and quicker to show desired (but not long-lasting) results. The second is difficult to put in place, develops slowly and spasmodically, and is continually threatened by supporters of other internal means. This can be overcome by the social work approach of helping people to help themselves, by bringing qualitative improvements in the lives of the people along with material prosperity by a strategic and gradual planning with the involvement of the people. This includes a thorough understanding of the people and their environments, and the internal strains and external pressures so that people are enabled to adjust smoothly to change from the old to the new.

The past experience has shown that the poor of the country particularly the tribal people, cannot uplift themselves with state intervention, with all its limitations alone. So, what is needed is a mass movement with—a systematic effort to restructure the prevalent structure, particularly at the grass-root level so that the development benefits will really reach the poor. This is possible when conscientisation approach has been taken up and people are properly educated and motivated to look into the intricacies of their own life situation. When they are helped to see the relationship of cause and consequence of social events in their day to day life, they can no longer be exploited and thus can protect themselves by being organised.

It is an irony that community development is not successful in India because communities have lost their community spirit. People are loosely held together without the true feeling of community. Even though this is not a serious problem in tribal areas, still, it should not be overlooked. Hence it is the need of the hour that the tribal communities are helped to organise themselves by a nurturing and guiding leadership and initiatives that are channelised for the promotion of good community life. Unless the development worker works with the people conscientiously, the capacity to manage community life will not develop easily.

The functionary should help foster commitment in the local leadership to the basic social and economic changes so that the pressing need of the people can be properly met. It requires deep understanding, not only of the principles of community development by the leaders but also of the history traditions and aspirations of their own people. Also by bringing awareness among the leaders, in the first instance, it would be possible to propagate the programmes among the larger masses so that they can make use of the opportunities for bettering their lot.

The draft seventh plan stresses the need for and importance of peoples' participation for the success of planned efforts. The document that the planning participation process in a democratic country can acquire fuller meaning and depth if the people not only associate themselves in planning for the development but also participate consciously in plan implementation.

Experience of participation in village affairs and community life, develops a sense of power, dignity and self-reliance in the people. Individual action may not be much effective as it tends to be sporadic. On the other hand, collective action is much more effective and it is to be used in mobilising local resources articulating needs and co-ordinating developmental tasks which are undertaken by the people.

People should be helped to reach a stage at which they would stop looking at government for everything. They should be enabled to develop the ability of harnessing their own available resources and technology over which they have control and can meet their requirements. This kind of self-reliance inevitably implies the formation of self-help organisations in the form of cooperatives and so on, through which development programmes can be implemented and realised.

To sum-up, the social work approach to tribal development should be such that efforts are made at bringing awareness among the people and educating them about their rights as well as responsibilities. In this process, simultaneously, the local leadership should be nurtured and their capacities enhanced so that the tribal group, community and society at large get a new lease of life. This can, on the one hand, help minimise the elements of exploitation of tribes and on the other, strengthen the tribals in securing better life for themselves.

A similar view is also expressed by Jan Myrdal in his critical work, 'India Waits', which surveys the tribal scene in India and the various facets of exploitation leading to unrest and rebellion. He concludes that whatever happens he is convinced that in the long run it is the people who constitute the driving force of history (Myrdal, 1985). So the plans for tribal development should be oriented as people-centred, so that awareness, enlightenment and active participation of the people for their betterment becomes a reality. Through a concerted and continuous endeavour, both by the administration and the people themselves, that is channelling the governmental and voluntary efforts, the integration of the tribal people with the mainstream of national life can be promoted by creating awareness and leadership abilities in them, whereby the tribes would also share equally the fruits of the socio-economic development of a modern and rejuvenating Indian Nation.

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EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE CHILDREN OF WEAKER SECTIONS

K.S. Chalam

Introduction:

The educational problems of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in India as distinguished from others need special attention of social scientists as they constitute nearly one-fourth of the total population. The literacy rate among these communities is as low as around 20 per cent in 1981. It means that the bulk of the illiterate population of the country belongs to these sections. If we include the other socially disadvantaged groups like the backward castes and women, the problem appears to be serious, but divergent from the objective of the paper. Therefore, we confine ourselves to examine the educational problems of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes here. The Paper mainly seeks to examine the trend of levels of literacy among these communities and relate the same with the coefficient of equality of education. After providing a macro view of the situation, the more serious impeding factors for the low levels of educational development of these groups are also examined.*

Levels of Literacy:

A general overview of the levels of literacy among the scheduled castes and tribes in different states of the country during the period 1961-1981 is given in Tables-1 and 2. The figures in these

* We have provided statistical information relating to Scheduled tribes as it is indicative of the dimension of the problem.

tables show that the over-all proportion of the scheduled caste and tribe population to the total population has been around 15 per cent and 7.5 per cent respectively during the period 1961-1981, though there are some variations among the states during the same period. There is an overall improvement in the levels of literacy in both the groups in almost all the states. The literacy rate of the scheduled tribes doubled from 8.54 per cent in 1961 to 16.35 per cent in 1981. However, the rate of change is more pronounced in the states which have a moderate proportion of tribal population as compared to the states with larger concentrations. The examples are Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh and Maharashtra where the literacy rate among the tribals was more than 20 per cent and population was less than 10 per cent of the total population in the year 1981. These states have recorded a rapid rate of growth as compared to the other states during the period under study. It is significant to observe that the states which have large concentration of tribal population like Assam, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Orissa and Tripura have recorded relatively slow progress as compared to the states which have a low concentration of tribal population during 1961-1981 period. The trend can partly be attributed to the enrolment rates of scheduled caste and tribe children at primary stage of education, the basic education that make a person literate after 4 years of continuous stay in the school.

Enrolment Ratio and Coefficient of Equality:

The enrolment ratio of scheduled tribe children to the other communities at primary level is given in Table-3. The coefficient of equality is also estimated from each state for the period 1961-1981. The coefficient of equality is a measure popularised by Late J.P. Naik to indicate the proportion of scheduled tribe of caste children to the total children divided by the ratio of their respective population and multiplied by 100. A coefficient of 100 indicates complete equality and less than 100 indicates inequality. A coefficient of more than 100 indicates the backlog of children of these communities of the previous years over the current enrolment in schools.

Table 3 shows that Assam, Bihar and Manipur have a coeffi-

cient of more than 100 in 1981. The coefficient of equality in these states was more than 90 in 1961. The states which have shown rapid progress in enrolment are those which have a slow progress in literacy as explained above. This appears to be a contradictory phenomenon. This phenomenon can be explained in terms of the high rates of drop out of the scheduled tribe children before they reach 5th standard. These children ultimately lapse into illiteracy and are responsible for low levels of literacy in those states where this concentration is very high. The coefficient of equality at the all-India level is still 84.1 at the primary stage and 41.4 at the secondary stage in 1978-79 (Table-4) indicating the long way the weaker sections need to travel to catch up with the mainstream population.

The problem with the large scale macro data that we have presented in the tables is that they do not speak about the real factors that are responsible for the slow growth of literacy and low level of coefficient of equality among the weaker sections. The problem of low levels of literacy and the high rate of drop out can be explained in terms of the kind of pedagogy that we offer to these groups in our schools. Most of the schools in our country do not distinguish a child from a tribal family and the one from an elite family and offer the same curriculum. The curriculum is urban biased and sanskritised to the advantage of a minority community who have devised the same for their own advantage. As a result the poor child from the socially disadvantaged group face two types of authoritarian systems, one, the colonial hang-over and the other internal cultural imperialism imposed on him. As a result he either drops out or is pushed out of the school and latter join the ranks of illiterates. Therefore, there is a need to examine these issues in detail.

Content and Devices of Education:

It is time and again reported by the educationists that the content of our education is irrelevant and inappropriate to our situation and the colonial hangover is still persisting in our curriculum. Further, the content of education of the socially disadvantaged, who are alienated from the mainstream formal education for ages cannot be the same as that of the mainstream learners. A situation has arisen today that the socially disadvan-

taged group are trained in the elite oriented subjects while the traditional occupations of their parents have not been diversified (particularly in the rural areas) inspite of industrialisation. This poses a problem whether the content of the mainstream learners is relevant to the socially disadvantaged groups without diversifying their traditional occupations.

There is also a related problem of the language that is used as communication in the class room and the deprivation of the weaker section student in the class room situation where the language is alien to his situation. It is brought out by some studies that the language we use in the class rooms of our school system is highly sanskritised and is biased towards the elite and middle classes of the society. The studies of Bernstein in U.K. proved that the verbal and non-verbal IQs are not simply a function of the native ability of children. The meanings inherent in the codes are social, as are the models from whom they are learnt. Both meaning and model constrain the learning of the child. It is also mentioned in Bernstein model which is applicable to our social situation here that children belonging to upper castes have access to an elaborated code and a restricted code while the children of the socially disadvantaged groups have access only to a restricted code indicating their respective social environment. Hence, the children of the disadvantaged groups who have a restricted access to language codes are deprived of the development of their intelligence. This may lead to the discontinuity in learning and a tendency to alienate himself from his kin. A systematic analysis of the language and content followed in our schools, will reveal that the situation is repulsive for the socially disadvantaged child, particularly the scheduled tribe child. The evaluation of the educational achievement of the child under the existing mental testing is again not in the interests of these groups and the achievement scores are dubious and incomparable between groups. Therefore, new methods of teaching should be devised wherein the teachers' role as a stimulator of conceptual development of children must be recognised. Further, the studies of Labov and others who worked on the language abilities and capacities of blacks in U.S.A. suggest that the linguistic and cognitive experience of the disadvantaged is capable of performing the intellectual tasks, provided the black culture or the, culture of the socially disadvantaged child (Tribal child in our context) becomes part of school knowledge. It is empiri-

cally proved in some studies conducted in Andhra Pradesh that the academic performance of the scheduled caste and tribe children of the Ashram and residential schools is equal to that of mainstream children. It has been possible because of the fact that these children are taken away from their home environment and acculturated in the mainstream attitudes, abilities, environs, etc. with the process of intermixing which ultimately resulted in good academic performance. But this type of experiment it appears, super-imposes the minority middle class culture on a disadvantaged group.

It is suggested by some writers that it is possible to prepare the children of these groups for schooling in the Anganwadis and Bal-wadis. The integrated Anganwadi-school system proposed in the new education policy, the only useful suggestion in the document, need to be experimented with the children of the weaker sections in their environs. In addition to this, parent education to the socially disadvantaged group's through the adult education programmes need to be provided.

The national policy on education has brought out clearly the contrasting picture of rural and urban schools in India. The socially disadvantaged children both in the rural and urban areas are enrolled in the schools maintained by the local bodies such as panchayats, municipalities, etc. The quality of these schools is poor. It is therefore necessary to strengthen the schools of the local bodies in general and the schools attended by the disadvantaged groups in particular. It is also suggested that the students of weaker sections who are gifted and articulated can be put in the so-called qualitative institutions and the full cost of education should be met by the Government. The existing residential schools for the weaker section boys are proved to be useful. But, the external productivity and cost effectiveness of these schools need to be investigated before it is made as an alternative model. It may be noted here that the students of these schools are alienated from the families as the school system is developing as a recruiting agency for elitist culture. Instead, the child can be taken to his family environment with more frequent paid visits to the family. There is also another possibility of developing an alternative model school for these groups within their social environs bringing even the elite child to the locality for an interaction. Further, the existing social welfare hostels should be strengthened to develop them as places of creative activity rather than places of dining and sleeping. The

educational development of the weaker sections has been under the control of many government agencies without any common understanding among them. There is a need for a separate body now, within the education department for a periodic inspection and direction of education of the socially disadvantaged groups organised by different agencies.

Financing of School Education:

School education has been financed by the State in all civilised societies. It is financed by the government even in market economies like U.S.A., U.K., Japan, Finland and other countries. Education has been declared as a human right under the universal declaration of human rights by the UNO in 1945. In fact even the champions of market economies like Milton Friedman have supported the state support for school education. Provision of free and compulsory primary education in our country is declared as an obligation of the state under Article 45 of the constitution. Further, the constitution provides socialist measures under Article 39, 41 and 43 to create equality of opportunity to all. The Preamble itself declares the state as a socialist, democratic republic indicating its responsibility to provide equal opportunities to all. This is possible through education.

In recent years, an argument has been putforward by some that the revenue contributions of the people belonging to the socially disadvantaged groups to the state exchequer is a substantial amount and therefore these groups have the right to demand education. But this seems to be a weak argument. The demand for education of the socially disadvantaged groups should come as a human right, as education is declared everywhere as a condition of 'good living'. In this context the state is forced to provide educational opportunities to these groups not out of sympathy but as a matter of economic expediency. It is brought out by many studies that rapid socio-economic development is possible when the society reaches a minimum of 50 per cent literacy. But, the government expenditure on education, it is observed is regressive in nature in India, benefitting more to the rich and less to the poor. It is revealed that out of one hundred rupees of public expenditure on education, the poor in the income group of Rs. 100 to 500

per month received 55.85 to 118 points while the rich in the income group of Rs.500 to 1,000 receive 186.66 points and in the income group of Rs. 1,000 and above receive 310.38 points. This reveals the regressive nature of our financing of education.

The government has enough resources to mobilise finances for education from the unutilized properties of the temples and other religious institutions. The revenue from the lands in the state of Andhra Pradesh for instance comes to around Rs. 25 crores per year while the state subsidy and income from the lands to the rich landlords is several hundreds of crores of rupees. The poor and ignorant peasants and labourers are exploited by the landlords while their contribution to the social developmental activity is negligible. Therefore, the state can impose a special levy on the agricultural income of the rich farmers to finance the education of the poor.

Strategy for the Development of Education of the Weaker Sections:

A strategy for the development of education for the socially disadvantaged groups is an exercise in understanding the socio-cultural and economic background of the groups and the correlation between these factors and education. The strategy must take into consideration the issues identified in the previous sections as limitations of universal strategy. The following are some points which can be taken into consideration for devising a scientific strategy.

1. At the stage of the formulation of the Plan for human resources development, there is a need for the preparation of special sub-Plan for the human resource development of the scheduled castes and tribes linked to the overall Plan.
2. Most of the children in the age group 6-14 in the rural areas are used as child labour by the parents due to poor economic conditions with a view to supplement their family income with the child's earnings. The problem can be solved if the parents are paid a compensation to the extent of earnings foregone by the children while they are in school.

3. The children of the scheduled castes and tribes have hardly any preparation for school at home. Therefore, pre-primary schools should be started within the vicinity of the scheduled castes and tribes habitat.
4. There are certain occupations like scavenging, tanning, etc., which go against the enrolment of children in schools. These occupations should be abolished and the children of these families should be adopted by the state to provide all possible assistance till they attain the age of 18.
5. More hostel facilities with sufficient scope for remedial classes should be provided to all those children who demand such facilities.
6. The present land reform measures and rural development programmes can be geared to a constructive programme like the one experimented in Kibaha centre in Tanzania which had paid rich dividends. The Kibaha centre is an attempt of simultaneous and coordinated attack on ignorance, disease and poverty. The centre has five sections namely,

(1) primary and secondary education where students engage in agricultural productive activities and mass literacy, (2) a health training centre where emphasis is laid on curative and preventive medicine, (3) a farmer's training centre intended for both young and adults, (4) a rural development unit, and (5) a library unit for the neo-literates. If these centres are combined in a capsule form by pooling all types of resources meant for the welfare of the weaker sections it would prove to be a comprehensive measure to combat problem of illiteracy.

Table 1
Levels of Literacy Among Scheduled Castes

State	Percentage of scheduled Castes to total population.			percentage of literacy rate.		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Andhra Pradesh	13.82	13.27	14.87	8.47	10.66	17.65
2. Assam	6.00	6.10*	NA	24.41	25.79*	NA
3. Bihar	14.07	14.11	14.51	5.95	6.63	10.40
4. Gujarat	6.63	6.84	7.15	22.46	27.74	38.79
5. Haryana	—	18.89	19.07	—	12.60	20.15
6. Himachal Pradesh	27.38	22.24	24.62	8.46	18.82	31.50

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Jammu & Kashmir	7.08	8.26	8.31	4.72	11.97	22.44
8. Kerala	8.49	8.30	10.02	24.44	40.21	55.96
9. Karnataka	13.22	13.14	15.07	9.06	13.89	20.59
10. Madhya Pradesh	13.14	13.09	14.10	7.89	18.49	18.97
11. Maharashtra	5.63	6.00	7.14	15.78	25.27	35.55
12. Manipur	1.71	1.53	1.25	22.37	26.44	33.63
13. Orissa	15.75	15.09	14.66	11.57	15.61	22.41
14. Punjab	20.38	24.71	26.87	9.64	16.12	23.86
15. Rajasthan	16.67	15.82	17.04	6.44	9.14	14.04
16. Uttar Pradesh	20.8	21.00	21.16	7.14	10.20	14.96
17. West Bengal	19.73	19.90	21.99	13.58	17.80	24.37
18. Tripura	10.48	12.39	15.12	13.42	20.51	33.09
19. Tamil Nadu	18.01	17.76	18.35	14.66	21.82	29.67
India	14.67	14.60	15.75	10.27	14.67	21.38

Notes: * Includes Mizoram

Sources: 1. Census of India, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

Table 2
Levels of Literacy Among Scheduled Tribes

States	percentage of Schduled Tribes to total population			Literacy Rate		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Andhra Pradesh	3.68	3.81	5.93	4.41	5.34	7.82
2. Assam	19.35	12.84*	NA	23.58	26.03*	NA
3. Bihar	9.05	8.75	8.31	9.16	11.64	16.99
4. Gujarat	13.35	13.99	14.21	11.69	14.12	21.14
5. Himachal Pradesh		4.09	4.61	8.63	15.89	25.93
6. Karnataka	0.81	0.79	4.01	8.15	14.85	20.14
7. Kerala	1.26	1.26	1.03	17.76	25.72	31.79
8. Madhya Pradesh	20.63	20.14	22.97	5.10	7.62	10.68
9. Maharashtra	6.06	5.86	9.19	7.21	11.74	22.23
10. Manipur	—	31.18	27.30	27.25	28.71	39.74
11. Orissa	24.07	23.11	22.43	7.36	9.46	13.96
12. Rajasthan	11.46	12.13	12.21	3.98	6.47	10.27
13. Tamil Nadu	0.75	0.76	1.07	5.91	9.02	20.45
14. Tripura	—	28.95	28.44	10.01	15.03	23.07
15. West Bengal	5.88	5.72	5.63	6.55	8.92	13.21
India	6.86	6.94	7.76	8.54**	11.30	16.35

Note: * Includes Mizoram **Excluding NEPA.

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

Table 3
Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled Tribes to Other Communities and
Coefficient of Equality in Primary Education for Selected Years

State	Percentage of enrolment ratio			Coefficient of equality		
	1960-61	1965-66	1978-79	1960-61	1965-66	1978-79
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Andhra Pradesh	2.7	3.4	4.6	60.0	75.6	89.8
2. Assam	35.2	35.6	14.2	154.4	156.1	110.6
3. Bihar	10.7	12.7	9.2	90.7	107.6	105.1
4. Gujarat	15.2	14.1	13.1	91.0	84.4	93.1
5. Himachal Pradesh	7.8	4.2	1.4	62.9	33.9	34.2
6. Madhya Pradesh	15.7	23.1	14.3	50.5	74.3	60.7
7. Maharashtra	7.9	7.3	5.6	114.5	105.8	73.5
8. Manipur	45.4	64.9	35.6	94.4	134.9	112.6
9. Orissa	13.3	22.6	18.8	33.3	56.5	81.3
10. Rajasthan	2.4	11.0	8.6	15.0	69.2	70.7
11. Tripura	37.2	30.2	21.4	68.4	55.5	73.9
12. West Bengal	4.4	4.2	4.0	54.7	53.2	68.1
India	6.0	6.7	6.3	69.0	77.0	84.1

Source: 1. Education of the Scheduled Tribes, J.P. Naik, 1971

2. Selected Indicators on Educational Development in India, NIEPA, 1980, 1984

Table 4
Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled Tribes to Other Communities and
Co-efficient of Equality in Secondary Education for Selected Years

State	Percentage of Enrolment Ratio			Coefficient of Equality.		
	1960-61	1965-66	1978-79	1960-61	1965-66	1978-79
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Andhra Pradesh	0.7	0.7	1.3	15.6	15.6	25.4
2. Assam	11.0	15.9	11.3	48.2	69.2	88.0
3. Bihar	4.1	3.8	3.6	34.7	32.2	64.0
4. Gujarat	2.0	2.8	5.6	12.0	16.8	39.8
5. Himachal Pradesh	3.0	3.3	2.1	24.2	26.6	51.3
6. Karnataka	—	—	1.7	—	—	191.0
7. Kerala	—	0.3	—	—	33.3	—
8. Madhya Pradesh	2.4	3.9	5.3	7.7	12.5	22.5
9. Maharashtra	1.1	2.3	2.2	15.9	33.3	28.9
10. Manipur	21.9	28.4	25.4	45.5	59.0	81.5
11. Orissa	3.9	5.7	6.7	9.8	14.3	29.0

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Rajasthan		0.6	3.5	5.6	3.8	22.0	46.0
13. Tamil Nadu		—	0.2	—	—	18.3	
14. Tripura		0.7	7.1	9.7	1.3	13.1	33.5
15. Uttar Pradesh		—	—	0.2	—		90.9
16. West Bengal		14.6	1.7	2.1	184.8	19.0	35.8
India		1.3	1.7	3.1	14.9	19.5	41.4

Source: Same as in Table 3.

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COMMUNICATING WITH THE INSULAR COMMUNITIES

Nabor Soreng

Communication is a process involving the exchange of messages between the sender and the receiver via a selected medium. All the above components namely the sender, or the source, the agent or the medium, the message, or the content and the receiver or the target, include varieties of sub-components and processes, that could not be elaborated in this paper. What in this article will be emphasised, is the relevance and the strategy of the process, in reference to the Tribals. It also would try to analyse critically, the conventional process generally adopted today.

Communication is not just the giving of information, it is the giving of understandable information, and receiving and understanding of the message. (Eyre, 1983) This implies that communication is a two way process where the sender and the receiver have got an equal and complementary role. One cannot have existence without the other. But in the existing content as well as coverage oriented process, the sender commands a superior position, overlooks the status of the receiver and treats it as inferior. As a result we see the top down process prevailing all over. The communication system prevailing in the country, tends to lay emphasis on the message, which is designed by the sender from his own point of view and interest, without taking into account the needs, tastes, comprehending capacity and culture of the receiver, who always is treated at the lower and as some-body quite inferior, ignorant, undeveloped and of lower human dignity. (Nayak, 1983) The media and its contents have remained largely exclusively and under certain circumstances tend to be antiparticipatory and proestablishment.

The sender either is the agent or the subject himself, of the higher rung of the society. The receiver with all its imposed attributes, comes from the lower ebb of the ladder.

Thus we see the top down approach, always patronised, nurtured, propagated and perpetuated every where.

The message again is a biased concept, symbols as well as attitudes, of the upper society, which allures the lower one, tantalizes, and challenges, as also constantly emits the impression, that the life at the top is the only one to be lived and imitated. The person at the receiving end should try to be like or make an attempt to identify himself like the sender at the top. The message thus is incomprehensible, irrelevant, and of imposing nature, to the common masses, who in the Indian context constitutes nearly 80 percent to the total population, and they are socially as well as economically below the intended standard. This doesn't mean that the entire message transmitted, or intended, is always of the same nature, but as far as the model and the process is concerned, it holds absolutely true.

As far as the medium is concerned, it again is the agent of the dominant few. The media, which includes the press, radio, television, telephone and the electronic media, remains inaccessible to the common mass, as it demands certain economic, educational and other social standards. To be specific, the literacy rate of India is 36 percent, and thus the rest 66 percent of the Indian population, is debarred from the print media. Radio, television and telephone can be afforded only by a few. Language, which belongs to the dominant culture is further more a repelling factor for the common mass. Thus the conventional media is irrelevant in the total context.

The target group, 80 percent of which belongs to the rural society, is generally assumed to be a homogeneous mass, in terms of culture, language, economic as well as social standards. There are numerous subcultures, that are overlooked and neglected by the present communication system. Assumption with which the entire communication philosophy of the country is built in, alienates most of the people. Tribals, constitute 8 per cent of the total population of India. Within this group there is a diversity of culture, and language, which is absolutely forgotten by the system.

The above factors prompt one to evolve a new communication system, that would include the majority of the Indian society, and

assist it develop in its own way, with its own potentialities, resources of all kind and with a minimum of external interference. In this article, we shall deal with the communication system, that would be appropriate for the insular communities of the country.

By "Insular Communities", I mean the aborigines, who generally are termed as tribals. Tribals over the centuries have been living in the mountains and deep forests. Even today, the hilly terrains are known as the tribal tracts. In a tribal society every one has equality of opportunity in all matters. (Das 1961) They love a life of independence, and value self respect more than their lives. Honour & self respect are prized very much in their society. (Sangamma, 1963) They are people of dignity and grace. They are sentimentally attached to the life in the woods and hold fast to the land they have reclaimed from the forest. Their life style, value of life, universe and world view, are absolutely different from that of ours. Their creed, culture, and rhythm of life is very much related to the nature.

Attempts have been made by the non-tribals, to interfere with the tribal life pattern. (N. Das, 1972) It has been highlighted that the non-tribals who settled down in the hills have been agencies of ruthless exploitation and have drained the life & blood of the tribals. Against these, there have been several revolts in the tribal areas. Birsa revolt, Bhuyan rebellion & Soura revolt, are some of the glaring examples of tribal reactions, against the non-tribal intrusions. Withdrawal into the deeper forests is another form of the tribal reaction against the invaders. There are also instances, where the tribals have yielded to the external suppressive forces, changed their life styles and adopted the culture of the invaders. Attempts in bringing the tribals into the main stream of the Indian society has passed through all these processes. Wherever a change is observed, the tribals have painfully sacrificed their own culture, ethos and values.

Question of integration of tribals into the main stream of the Indian society, is always debated. There are varied views in this regard. One school advocates this concept, with an argument that the tribals have got an equal right over the national property and opportunities. This view advocates equal social justice to every Indian citizen. But in the attempt, the tribals have to sacrifice their values, ethos, culture and world view. It has no alternative.

Another group has a slightly different stand. It holds the view,

that the tribals are quite happy within their own environment, own culture and their world view. The dominant culture has no right to break the tribal culture, and impose its own. Personalities like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also had such a view. He said "I am not at all sure which is the better way of living the tribals or our own.

In some respect I am quite certain theirs is better. Therefore, it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave, or what to do and what not to do. There is no point in trying to make them a second rate copy of ourselves".

What is our stand then? When we talk of communicating with the tribals, what do we intend to achieve? Do we wish them to be converted into a second rate copy of ourselves, or interact with them with an intention of distributing social justice, without breaking their basic values? If we believe in the latter, the mode of interaction to be adopted for them, need to have a different shape altogether. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru himself said "The people of the tribal areas and the hills attract me greatly, and deserve our very special care. I am anxious that they should advance but I am even more anxious, that they should not lose their artistry, and joy in life and the culture that distinguish them in many ways". If this is the view, the communication system to be adopted in this context, will have a specific direction.

The objective of communication, in the tribal context has various components, namely (i) distribution of national benefit due to them, (ii) develop their culture maintaining their identity (iii) solidify their self confidence, truthfulness, simplicity, straightforwardness etc. (iv) remove the inferiority complex and fear that has been imposed upon them by the outsiders, (v) let their society grow parallel to any other Indian society.

Here the conventional communication system will have a very limited place. The prevailing system, which is a top down process, and dominant by nature, is totally irrelevant in this context. It is too complex, too costly, inaccessible, and beyond the comprehension of these people.

Tribal form of communication will have a different approach. The new model is an old one, that has existed since centuries and kept the society going. It believes in the philosophy of participation of every member, in any process, be it educational decision making. So the communication, employed in the tribal context

should associate every single tribal in the process. Participation of every one means, the involvement of the recognised institutions, or system, where people of different category, are members. In a tribal ceremony, every body has a defined role. The priest performs religious rituals, the village head organises the community, the youth sing and dance as part of the ceremony. In the tribal dance, boys and girls have got equal rights. Thus when an external agent engages himself in communicating with the tribals, he should take care that no one is overlooked in the process. This will be possible, when the existing form of communication system, like the traditional, dances, songs & lyrics are associated. Anything other than indigenous cultural form, will push the tribals back at the gallery and reduce them into mere audience, rather than the participants or the actors. In the tribal form of communication everybody is an actor/actress in his/her own capacity. This implies, the use of local language indigenous songs, dances, institutions, ceremonies, festivals, and the like. It needs greater sacrifice on the part of the external agent, in order to identify himself with the tribals, participate upto a permissible limit in their cultural affairs & institutions. In other words, the communicator has to minimise the distance between him and the people. The messages have to be related to their lives, their values and symbols they understand.

National Institute of Social Work and Social Sciences made an experiment in this form of communication. A team of young boys and girls was engaged in a communication project in a tribal area with hilly terrains, surrounded by inaccessible forests. The team consisted of young boys and girls who hailed from the same area and came from the same community. They moved from village to village on foot, interacted with the people through interpersonal dialogues during the day time. They camped in the villages. Quite often boys stayed with the young men and the girls with the young women of the village. During the nights, they engaged themselves with the village boys and girls, in the traditional form of story telling, communicating through jokes, and performed traditional tribal dances. During "Dhangdi" dance, (a form of dance followed in the Kondh area) our boys sang and played "Khanjara" (a tribal tumbourine) with the village boys, while the girls joined the village girls in dancing. During the entire process there were exchanges of ideas, messages, in the form of songs, which were reciprocated by the rhythmic physical movements of the girls.

There were exchanges of themes, messages, attitudes and love. It was a reciprocal communication.

The objective of the communication project in reference, was to impart simple messages on health, sanitation, nutrition, education and information regarding various developmental programmes, both governmental and non governmental, various institutions providing different services and procedural details for availing these. Apart from the above one way messages, the project attempted to highlight the problems, with a view to conscientize, the people. The communicator thus tried to analyse the causes of their poverty, ill health, illiteracy as also exploitations and made an attempt to organise their resources and potentialities, in order to solve their own problems and find a way out of their existing situations. This included the analysis of their day to day activities, incidences, at a particular point of time, and their overall linkages. The songs, plays and dances were based on these themes as also during the on the spot improvisations, these themes and message were incorporated into the various components of the traditional media in reference, by the local people and the communicators together.

No attempt has been made to quantify the impact, following the project, but there were visible signs, that indicated the effect, that had been generated by it. The mother project had the objective of immunizing 1000 children at the end of three years. Where immunization was dreaded by the tribals, and no agency succeeded in persuading the people to go for it, the target fixed, was achieved at the end of the project, as per the report of the local Medical Officer.

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TRAINING BARE FOOT SOCIAL WORKERS IN INDIA

R.K. Nayak

This paper seeks to analyse in the first instance the factors that make professional social workers trained at post—graduate level in Universities generally ineffective in reaching out the relevant client populations, either for delivering traditional social work services or undertaking more radical development oriented social work tasks in the third world countries. In contradistinction to professionalism which by itself becomes a constraint, therefore, the paper proposes to present the findings of an experiment being made in NISWASS as an alternative model of social work and social work training in the third world scenario.

The Traditional Models

Professional Social Work Education in India started with the establishment of Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay in 1936, through the work of Clifford Manshardt, an American missionary who had his social work experience in a settlement house in Chicago (UGC, 1980). The Institute was established to provide a two years' training programme in social work with a view to providing trained personnel to man the various positions in the field of social welfare. All available historical evidence proves that social work education in India was instituted arbitrarily without regard to the field in terms of the recognition of the value of training and opportunities for employment in the field (Pathak, 1979). Mohsini also brought out the same fact when he remarked that professional education in social work was an imported concept mainly from the USA (Mohsini, 1969).

I am inclined to agree with the analysis made by Siddiqui, Pathak, Mohsini and a number of other writers (Siddiqui, 1984). The level of expertise required to man the various categories of jobs in the field of social welfare, and the status accorded to such posts in terms of salary and other benefits also proves the point. In fact, the objectives of social work training in its early phase turned out to be the production of labour welfare officers. The First Review Committee (UGC, 1965) in the Introduction to its Report remarked, though labour welfare does not come within the purview of social work as understood in the USA, in Bombay (now all over India) as a matter of historical accident it has come to be looked upon as social work par excellence. This has continued to be the experience of many other schools and departments of social work that have come into existence since 1949, especially the Delhi School of Social Work, the faculty of Social Work in M.S. University of Baroda and the Madras School of Social Work. The same was also true for the then J.K. Institute of Human Relations and now the Department of Social Work, Lucknow University as also Kashi Vidyapith of Banaras.

Nevertheless some of the graduates did find employment in other areas of social work practice as well. Trained social workers got jobs in governmental as also voluntary welfare agencies, though social work training was not a statutory requirement for these jobs nor it still is at present. One of the published Reports worked out the percentages of students undergoing training in the social work schools offering fields of specialisation in the year 1957-58 as follows: a. Labour Welfare and Personnel Management—48; b. Rural Welfare—15; c. Family & Child Welfare—8, d. Medical & Psychiatric Social Work—8; e. Correctional Administration and Juvenile Delinquency—4; f. Institutional & after care services—2; g. Group Work & Community Organisation—1; j. Not indicated—12. The analysis indicates that at least 50 percent of the existing outturn of graduates and undergraduates from the different schools get channelised into the field of Labour Welfare and Personnel Management, and as such are not available for the execution of general programmes of social welfare. (Govt. of India, 1959)

During the fifties the general concept of social work in India was provision of curative and rehabilitative services for the needy. The emphasis was on making the individual to adjust with the exist-

ing system rather than trying to suggest any modification or reform in the system itself or even trying to evolve approaches emphasizing the developmental functions of social work. Prof. Gore in fact differentiating between social reform and social work wrote that social reform aims at a change of the pattern of life of a whole community while social work aims at meeting the needs of individuals and groups within the life pattern of that community. Social reform is addressed to the change of social institutions and social work to relieving the sufferings resulting from the failure of individuals and groups to function effectively within an institutional set up. In his opinion social reform was the field for voluntary leader, whereas social work increasingly becomes the domain of the professional (Gore, 1965).

The First Review Committee on Social Work Education (1965) went a step further, "For half a century the role of the social worker in India was that of a social reformer.... Now that the social worker has ceased to be the social reformer in the old sense, it has become possible to benefit from the experience of social work training institutions in other countries (UGC, 1965). The implication of this assessment was that the main aims of social reform have been achieved and therefore there is no need for any further concern with social reform.

The over-emphasis on remedial measures in social work profession at that time was perhaps due to the fact that we have borrowed the entire concept of social work from the USA (Nagpaul 1970, UGC, 1980). Both American social work and American social work education have been under the influence of psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis. It is well known that the exclusive emphasis on psychological orientation has led to the development of social case work method and has often neglected sociological orientation to social work. This trend has been further strengthened partly by the emergence of professionalization in social work and the political forces in American society which have often discounted planned social change (Nagpaul, 1970).

Even while borrowing the concept of social work from the USA we failed to take note of the doubts being expressed about the limitations of over-emphasis on curative approach in social work even in America since early 1950's. The second reason was the preoccupation of the early advocates of social work professions to get the profession established in India (a task in which we have per-

haps only partly succeeded and hence they refrained from taking a radical stand. This situation resulted also from the fact that Indian social scientists (including sociologists and economists) tended to accept the Western model of development for the elimination of poverty. The model of social work practice and education was, therefore, based on industrial urban, and metropolies dominated society (UGC, 1980).

The Third World Scenario: India

In India, as in majority of the third world countries despite massive government and non-governmental efforts a substantial number of people still live below the poverty line. The majority of the poor are located in the rural areas. The massive nature of poverty has in its wake given rise to mass scale problem of illiteracy and health problems. A brief review of the existing socio-economic situation such as education, health, housing and employment is given below to indicate the nature and magnitude of welfare needs.

Education:

According to 1981 census 64 per cent of the population in India is still illiterate. The female literacy rate is only 25 per cent, whereas the male literacy rate is around 48 per cent. Out of the total literates only 17.27 per cent males and 12.47 per cent females are able to reach upto school leaving stage. The remaining drop out before reaching the school leaving stage. The tribal situation is still worse. The general literacy rate was only 16.35 per cent and female literacy was only 8.04 per cent.

Health:

The health situation can easily be assessed if we take into account two major indicators. Majority of the population particularly living in rural areas do not have access to safe drinking water and is unable to have a sufficient income level to afford a proper nutrition level. The infant mortality rate is still high viz., in the rural

areas 136 and in the urban areas 70. By 2000 AD it is proposed to bring it down to 60 (Govt of India, 1986). In 30 per cent of all live births the weight of the newly born baby is less than 2500 gms. Effective couple protection i.e. people having satisfactory measures for birth control was only 23.6 per cent (March, 1982). Only 40-50 per cent pregnant mothers were receiving antenatal care and only 30-35 per cent deliveries were done under the supervision of a trained attendant. Only 26 per cent children below 3 years receive immunisation against DPT, 5 per cent against polio and 2 per cent against typhoid. However 65 per cent receive BCG immunisation. The per capita expenditure on health in India during the year 1982-83 was Rs. 32.85, (approx US\$2) and Rs.4.30 (approx US\$.25) on family welfare.

Pattern of Employment

The majority of working population was located in rural areas and was dependant on agriculture and allied activities. Thus nearly 68.37 per cent workers were engaged in agriculture or related works like manufacturing, servicing and repairs etc. Miscellaneous services account for nearly 8.14 per cent of workers (Govt of India, 1983). The usual status unemployment rate varies from 2.68 in the case of 5-14 to 6.54 in the case of 15-29 age groups. The rate for all ages was 3.04 per cent. (The rates are percentages of unemployment to the corresponding labour force) (Govt of India, 1985).

The review is indicative of the current level of need fulfilment in key sectors of social services, which shows that a very large section of the Indian population is still lagging behind and is unable to have access to basic services and facilities for its growth and development. It is an obvious fact that majority of the population in the third world countries which live in rural areas will hardly be able to have access to bare minimum facilities in the near future. The bulk of social welfare services are urban based and that too cater to largely the middle and upper middle class clients rather than the poorer sections of the population.

The Rethinking

During the 60's the process of rethinking about the possible goals

of social work and hence social work education started. Many factors—local, regional and international, contributed to this development. To mention a few: the declaration of 60's as the First Developmental Decade by U.N., the initiative taken by the U.N. system in the region—particularly by the Social Development Division of the ESCAP, and the financial, technical and research and study supports given by UNICEF as also the experience of a few professional social workers engaged in the formulation of social policy and social planning—, and the role played by the International Association of Schools of Social Work (Pathak, 1979). In 1961 Das Gupta wrote, "the time, is, therefore not far when social workers and institutions offering training in social work should plan to reorient their curriculum of studies to meet the coming challenge of the 'growing rural society' in India. It would have been more appropriate had he said 'the growing rural poverty' in India.

At the 1966 Seminar organised by Association of Schools of Social Work in India at Calcutta the role of the social work profession in social reconstruction was highlighted by Kulkarni, Hasan, S. Das Gupta, Nanavati, and others. Kulkarni took the stand that the professional and social goals cannot be separated as far as social workers were concerned. A separation of the two would negate the very effectiveness of social worker; he strongly advocated the commitment of the profession to act as a powerful force in favour of democracy, social justice and social development (Kulkarni, 1967).

Hasan disagreeing with the stand taken by Gore regarding social reform and social work wrote, "Gore's attempt to distinguish between social work and social reform, even on the conceptual plane, is beset with difficulties and poses a serious problem for the profession of social work in terms of its social responsibility. (Hasan 1967). He was also highly critical of the observations made by the First Review Committee about the role of social work. His position was that though social work is primarily concerned with providing services for the relief of suffering, at the same time it is vitally interested in social reform. Professional social work has definite responsibility to promote social reform. Sugata Das Gupta, Nanavati, Pande (1967) and a number of other participants in the seminar stressed the same point and in that sense the Calcutta Seminar (1966) is an important land mark in the history of social work profession in India.

By 1970 therefore the commitment of social work towards social development and social reconstruction has been accepted in principle and since then a number of National and International Seminars have been organized to emphasize the point and by now it has almost become a fashion to talk about the developmental orientation of social work.

The realisation of this new perspective of social work also led to the demand for reorienting the social work education. Nanavati stressed the need for recruiting better students in whom the desired values necessary for developmental functions could be nurtured along with his advice to staff of the schools to develop commitment to work for social reconstruction. Hasan in addition to the points suggested by Nanavati stressed the need for teaching of social philosophy in a systematic and planned manner.

Aptekar (1966) stressed the need for reorganisation of curriculum and field instruction, faculty development and recruitment of students. Pande made the point of curriculum reorientation more clear by emphasising a total reorganization of courses with greater emphasis on social action rather than merely introducing a course on social reconstruction. He also emphasised the importance of reorienting the field instruction in this context. (Pande, 1967)

Bare Foot Social Workers: The NISWASS Model

While as stated above there was fresh thinking on the goals of social work, the fact remained that the University educated social workers operated under certain constraints. Robert Chambers (1983), an expert on rural development describes six main biases which do not help rural development. To him, the modern professional visualises rural development as a sort of tourism. The biases are based on 'spatial' problems, 'project' approaches, 'elitist' background, 'male' dominance situations and 'professionalism'. Professionalism by itself is riddled with problems of expertism, careerism and institutionalisation. Social work as a profession is not an exception to this. Moreover social work education just as any other modern education, can be equally called a 'banking system' of education with a tendency to be non-participative and even oppressive. (Friere, 1972).

There is yet another serious obstacle for a professional social worker. The society in India is a highly stratified one based on caste, religion, culture and belief systems that pose the biggest challenge to the University educated social worker, who carries with him in addition to his own professional bias, certain other values, interests, attitudes and perceptions which threaten the basic premises of social work and voluntary service like secular principles, humanitarian approaches and altruistic commitments.

All this no doubt was realised during the early phase of social work education in India as was indicated above, but not much has been done in practice so far. Some schools have experimented with stray and ad hoc training programmes to train people from slums or rural areas, and to prepare grassroot level workers to meet specific situations. Some governmental training programmes have also been initiated to train village level workers and welfare extension officers. The model of grass-root social workers education designed and executed by NISWASS, however, differs in a significant manner from the above mentioned training programmes.

In brief, NISWASS trains the non-professional social workers popularly known as bare foot or grass root social workers. These are natural social workers willing to help the neighbour and can be seen both in urban and rural areas without much cross cultural mobility. They do not have any professionalism of medium or high order, and possess a low level of technical competency, low educational ability or communicating talent though more alert and slightly higher than the ordinary members of the locality or community to which they belong. They, of course, are bilingual—speak local or tribal language and Oriya (the official language of the State) with Matriculation or similar formal standard of education. These happen to be the core of our change agents found to be the most effective catalysts and the safe repositories of the community's trust.

The NISWASS's experiment was based on the findings of two action research projects: (1) 'social inputs' and (2) 'communication' which were implemented sometime ago with UNICEF assistance and which selected local lay "coordinators" or "communicators", who were entrusted with the task of delivery of change messages and basic services in a highly illiterate and totally insular tribal community in Phulbani, Orissa. The bare foot social workers/communicators who were trained briefly and deployed in the pro-

ject conducted themselves as the local people did, put on the dress the local people wear, ate the locally available food and understood the level of thinking and feeling, of the client population. Our experiment, which greatly succeeded also proved that communication process should not have a top-down or high-low pattern. It need not always proceed from the expert to the unexpert, from the wise to the less wise or from the literate to the non-literate. The delivery mechanism was also inexpensive, direct and less time consuming.

As is well known, the programmes of the Institute weigh heavily in favour of the weaker sections. Hence, we felt we have to reach the social workers at the door step of the members of the weaker groups and make voluntary service a reality among the poor and the down trodden. It is in this background that we discarded the classical diffusion model of social work, which is based on the assumption that change agents must be technically competent and professionally trained, preferably through a University or a higher level learning system, although we also started with a post-graduate programme initially and have since been continuing as a seed project.

The State has 50,000 villages. Even if we decided to go in for one bare foot social worker for each village, we needed 50,000 workers. For a voluntary agency it would be a yeoman's task to raise such a great number of volunteers. On an average each village had 100 households and one social worker per village may fulfil the need. But we had to debate on how to raise, train and deploy such a huge number of social workers.

Yet another point had to be considered. We felt that our social worker must come from the village itself so as to be in close and constant touch with the people, have proper rapport with them, feel at home socially and ethnically and be taken seriously by the villagers. We felt that only in an atmosphere and ethos of emotional and intellectual proximity the local social worker's role will be more productive and purposeful than otherwise by an outside volunteer with somewhat distant culture and imported ideas.

Such a local worker must also be independent and self-reliant economically and socially. Neither he should depend on government nor on NISWASS for his living, nor on the villagers for his wages and sustenance. Hence it was decided to train them on self-employment schemes like rope making, tailoring, black-smithy,

pottery, leaf plate making and grass based materials depending on the availability of local resources, practices and talents and on peoples experiences. Sometime we find generational continuity in craft making and we have picked up excellent social workers out of such craftsmen. Orientation of the bare foot social workers in getting credit for his self-employed scheme from the banks or other financial institutions, organising raw material procurement and marketing of the product—both locally and regionally—forms part of the programme. The bare foot worker while satisfying his basic needs with an assured income out of his trade gets enough leisure and liberty to engage in social work at the village level, of course on a part-time basis. Thus we have overcome the problem of paying a huge remuneration to the social worker and that of his dependency on the NGO or government.

As for his code of conduct, we have prescribed that he be free from political ambitions, religious bigotry, or communal feuds with no fear for or expecting a favour from any one, but with altruism and empathy for the less fortunate in his village.

In terms of duties, the bare foot social workers will broadly discharge twin responsibilities. First, they will communicate development messages, to be made available to them by NISWASS, to the people in the village on different programmes and activities of social, cultural and economic nature. Secondly, they will animate and conscientize the poor through dialogues and discussions at the village level. In brief, the social worker will act as the social catalyst in the village and will in due course play the role of a friend, philosopher and guide of the villagers and organise them for self-help, mutual help and cooperative efforts for common cause and shared benefits.

As far as the content of the social work education is concerned, we have designed a curriculum based on our home ideas, need based actions and local experiences. The objectives and the role of the bare foot social workers have been spelt out as follows : (a) give them some basic critical understanding of the society they live in (b) make them aware of their social commitments and basic rights, (c) give them some basic skills to work with the people, (d) provide them some information about the administrative structure and about various social and economic development programmes and (e) prepare them to be grass root volunteers and social workers.

The duration is six months and qualification has been determined at Matriculation level. The methodology is made simple which is as follows: (a) formal as well informal class room lectures and question-answer sessions, (b) utilise role play, short stories, illustrations to communicate, (c) dialogues, individual and group counselling, discussions, seminars and workshops will also be organised, (d) using posters, charts, pictures and various props, (e) field visits and actual field work.

Assessment and follow-up are also made as follows: (a) at the end of the course an informal assessment will be made by way of observation and discussions with the trainee, (b) a certificate is issued to each participant, (c) visit each participant once in two months for an hour's discussion to get feed back and provide reinforcement, (d) organise a meeting of all the participants in a district at least once in two months or quarterly and (e) circulate newsletters.

The course content consists of 8 papers viz., introduction to social work, societal analysis, methods of working with individuals, groups and communities, nature and types of rural communities, development programmes and institutions, communication and conscientization with adequate field work in the neighbouring villages.

In the NISWASS model of bare foot social work education, the issue has taken a different shape. Effort is being made to train the inner person and make him the change agent for himself and his neighbours. The modus operandi also has been worked out so as to make him fully operational although he works part-time and during the off hours. These people work most of the time for satisfying their survival needs and are only free in the evenings for discussions and dialogues.

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THEORETICAL BASE OF SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE—PROBLEMS OF CURRICULUM DESIGN IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

H.Y. Siddiqui

The paper seeks to emphasize the importance of strengthening the theoretical base of social work practice to make social work practice truly professional. Most social workers would consider this to be self evident and basic to any profession. Yet few would agree that our theories and techniques have attained the level of sophistication to be expected of scientific theories. Theory emerges through the process in which facts are ordered in a meaningful way. That is, the relationship between facts is deposited through observation, speculation, inspiration and experience; and as such relationships are observed and verified, theory is developed. (Turner, 1974: 5)

Social work profession has right from its inception emphasized the need for developing a suitable knowledge base for informing its practice. Yet somehow it has not been able to achieve this goal. (Anthony, 1971) Although it is not difficult to demonstrate that in our professional literature we have manifested an understanding of the nature of theory, this attitude is by no means a universal one within our profession. (Turner, 1974: 6) The reasons for either apparent disregard or at least diffuseness of the use of theory are rather complex. Streat has speculated on some of the reasons for this apparent weakness in social work practice. Among the ideas mentioned he identifies our strong tradition of human service as an explanation for failure to make full use of available theory, (Streat, 1971) since many felt that more than theory what was needed was compassion. Over the years the social work educators have in particular been trying to dispel such assumptions though perhaps with little success. Another reason for a weak theoretical base in social work practice could be attributed to the

development of social sciences. It has only been recently recognised by the social scientists that the various social science disciplines such as economics, sociology and psychology have failed to come up with relevant theoretical insights which can be used by practitioners working in the field of social welfare and related areas. In fact they have created more confusion than clarifying the understanding of the myriad social realities. At this point in our history, our problem is not a shortage of emerging theories but a superfluity of conceptual framework. (Siddiqui, 1987: 26) It will be relevant at this point to mention the controversy regarding the use of social science theory by social work practitioners. A section of social work educators feel that social work should develop its own theory which should inform its practice rather than using the theories developed by the social scientists. One of the reasons cited for this was that social science concepts did not explain the actual real life situations encountered by the social workers and they were too academic in nature. Yet another reason advanced particularly by social workers in the third world, was the alien context of the theories developed generally by the Western authors. The impression one gets from these pronouncements could be summed up as though social work practitioners would prefer the use of theory which emerges from the practice experience of their profession. Although it is a laudable objective and hence worth pursuing but this should not mean that the entire social work theory would be developed by social workers themselves. The broad social science concepts have been useful in social work practice and can continue to be usefully employed with necessary adaptations to social work situations. The social work theory building efforts should of necessity use the available theoretical frameworks. The inability to do so in fact have rendered whatever social work theory we have evolved far from satisfactory as pointed out by Turner. Commenting on "Theory and Practice of Social Case Work" by Gordon Hamilton, he said, "In spite of the title, Dr. Hamilton only uses the word theory a few times in the book and even less frequently refers to the process of theory building through research. Rather than discussing concepts and verified hypotheses she talks about basic assumptions which cannot be proved, she speaks comfortably and authoritatively from a rich practice experience but not from a formal theoretical base." (Turner, 1974:8)

He concluded by observing that, "It is my assessment though

possibly debatable, that at this point most if indeed not all, of the conceptual bases of the various explanations of behaviour, the descriptions of intervention and the axioms about indicators for treatment that have been presented as the theoretical base of our practice do not qualify for the title of a theory in the strict sense of the word. (Turner, 1974: 11)

It is almost a decade and a half when Turner made the observation but the situation unfortunately is not very different today. Though considerable progress has been made in the recent years yet more efforts are needed for subjecting our concepts and assumptions which guide our practice, to rigorous scientific tests to verify them. Turner's assessment of the state of theoretical base of social work practice was largely confined to clinical practice. Since then the scope of social work practice has undergone a substantial change. At the moment the diversity of objectives of social work tasks and functions and the consequent skills needed by social work educators. The confusion regarding the scope of social work led Brewer and Lait (1980) to remark that the task of defining social work and its boundaries of practice has hitherto remained unresolved. In UK a commission of enquiry was set up as late as 1980 to define social work and its tasks and functions.

Social Work Tasks and Functions

In India, the most recent effort in that direction was the report of the second review committee appointed by the University Grants Commission to review social work education. (hereafter referred to as the UGC report). The report identified two categories of social work tasks; (a) developmental and (b) remedial and rehabilitative (UGC 1980: 41-42).

The UGC-report referred to the Vth International Survey for training in social welfare which had indentified the developmental tasks (UN, 1971).

These developmental tasks of the profession are related to work with specific target groups where social functioning is of crucial concern to social welfare; ensuring inter-disciplinary delivery of services; providing opportunities for the involvement of communities in problem solving, and bringing about change in institutional structure or processes which retard, block or deflect development

(UGC, 1980: 41). The report did not spell out the specific tasks identified as remedial and rehabilitative in nature.

It further identified four sets of functions which these tasks involved;

- a. Delivery of service/change agent functions utilizing the knowledge and skills related to the work with communities, groups, families, individual as well as societal institutions.
- b. Planning, policy development, programming and administration related to the delivery of services.
- c. Monitoring evaluation and research skills related to improvement, change and development of knowledge and skills in the delivery of services.
- d. Supervision, training and education of manpower required for the delivery of services (Siddiqui, 1987: 24)

Service Delivery or Change Agent— Lack of Consensus about Scope

Social work education right from its inception in India was trying to tackle both, the objectives of trying to bring about wide ranging changes in society on the one hand and to undertake traditional social work tasks on the other. (See Siddiqui and Hayden, 1984: 18-21) However the institutional framework social work education (being located within the university set up) more than any other factor has been responsible for in practice, in continuing to follow to produce manpower for existing jobs in the social welfare field rather than producing agents of social commitment of professional social workers in India, which of late has become a very passionate subject of debate even among other social scientists including the economists and social planners, it is generally not realised that the professional goals of social work as also of other disciplines, in preparing students to undertake jobs in various fields of social welfare, and the task of bringing about social change in society, particularly when it means disturbing the status quo, conflict with each other. (See Siddiqui 1984 and Heraud 1981) Desai while delivering the Dame Eileen Young Husband Memorial Lecture at the Twentyfourth Congress of Schools of Social Work in Vienna earlier this year, observed, "We as a faculty, need to

develop a vision of what we want to see as the result of change and how the country needs to set about achieving this vision." She further observed that until the faculty of a school have some agreement on this area, it is difficult to decide what to teach. (Desai, 1988: 9) The dilemma that social work education faces today cannot be put more succinctly. What Desai did not take into account was the simple fact pointed out earlier that the opinion of social work educators on the whole question of whether social work education should or should not address itself to the issue of inducing 'radicalness social change', and subsequently to the degree of radicalness (See Pathak, 1986; Siddiqui, 1987; Heraud, 1981) continue to be sharply divided and there is hardly any possibility of a consensus emerging in the near future. Nor perhaps there should be a consensus on the subject since one could hardly expect a consensus on political ideology to be found in modern democratic societies. It is difficult to imagine that even all the faculty members in one should could subscribe to one ideology as suggested by Desai. One may at this juncture point out the relationship between social work and social policy. The relationship between social work and social policy is determined by the latter, which has its base in the political ideology of the state. Hence social work education which is largely state funded could not possibly seek to demolish it not at least by design. Therefore neither state sponsored social work nor education can legitimately claim promoting social change of a radical nature, as their manifest function. (Siddiqui & Hyden 1984: 22) Ironic as it may seem but in both democratic and socialistic societies education and social work serve as an important tool for legitimising and perpetuating the state ideology rather than promoting social change. Hence if at all social work education believes in promoting social change it will have to divorce itself from state sponsorship. The second major obstacle in incorporating social change objective in the curriculum of social work education, arises from the learners objective. Desai, the convener of the UGC second review committee on social work education in India, rightly points out that in developing curriculum the learner should be the focus and the curriculum should be tailored to meet the learning need and the capacities of the students. (Desai, 1984) It is generally assumed by those advocating incorporation of change agent role for social workers that learners seeking professional education in social work either possess

the motivation and an attitude to act as a change agent or could be motivated to possess the same at the end of the training. Desai herself has pointed out, commenting on the students joining social work training, while some had rural background, most may be considered to be upwardly mobile with strong attraction for urban living (Desai, 1981: 221). The choice of specialization sought out by social work students and their perceptions of consequent social work roles in different areas, provide further insights about the fallacy of such an assumption, since the majority of learners opt for, and consequently practice social work in practice settings which offer little scope for change agent role. (Siddiqui, 1987: 26)

Rethinking Social Work Education:

If social work has to survive as an effective profession particularly in Asian countries, a rethinking of existing mode of social work education and objectives it tries to accomplish becomes inevitable. Of late criticism has been mounting to suggest that the assumption that social work students receive sufficient training to achieve minimal level of competence is dubious at best. The competence level of professionals inevitably is measured in terms of their skilled ability to deal with the problems and issues they are called upon to deal with in their respective area of expertise. The larger the scope of expertise, the higher will be the skill requirement. Social work over the years increased its scope of expertise from attending to problems of adjustment or meeting welfare needs to restructuring societies. The consequent skill requirement is obvious, particularly if the assumption is that all social workers must possess expertise in all tasks which social work profession lays its claim on.

In India UGC report a reference to which was made earlier had identified two broad categories of social work tasks (a) developmental and (b) remedial and rehabilitative. (UGC, 1980: 41-42) The problem of designing a curriculum would become simpler if the curriculum addresses itself to one set of tasks i.e. either developmental or remedial. However, the UGC report and more recently, the participants at a meeting of social work educators to discuss the curriculum outline to be developed to serve as the national model chose to devise a curriculum which would address

itself to both seen as a continuum from micro to macro level and hence the curriculum should be designed to prepare social workers to use both, skills of work at micro level and using macro strategies for bringing about wider change. (Siddiqui, 1987)

The decision is in conformity with the current model of social work education in India. This has resulted in what has been referred to as a general social science approach resulting in the social workers having a general awareness about the existing theories of behaviour modification or social change at the end of the two year training period. They however are not capable of relating the theories to the actual practice situation, because the training is not able to do justice to all the content included in the curriculum. The time available in a two years course can barely provide a maximum of sixty hours to a course for the whole academic year or thirty hours for a semester course.

The UGC report has identified five broad components of the curriculum besides field practicum at the masters level;

- a. Subject matter related to social work practice and the profession.
- b. Subject matter related to problems of society (social development/pathology and deviance) and delivery of services.
- c. Subject matter related to society, social structure, social institutions and social processes and strategies.
- d. Subject matter related to the behavioural and biological sciences.
- e. Subject matter offered as elective or to develop specific job skills. (UGC, 1980: 94-96)

The UGC Centre for Curriculum development set up at TISS, Bombay identified eight components of the curriculum.

1. Social work profession: Philosophy and ideologies
2. Methods courses.
3. Field practicum.
4. Growing in India: Human growth, Health & Mental Health.
5. Society: Structure and conflict.
6. Social policy, planning and development.
7. Applied social sciences; and
8. Social Work Research.

The UGC report expect the students to be able to analyse problems both at the macro and micro levels and develop the capacity to seek alternative strategies for problem solving. (UGC, 1980: 94) Social service delivery system of the federal and state government and their shortcomings, impediments, failures and the changes envisaged and to evaluate the models of practice as well. It also expects the students to offer courses from sociology, anthropology, economics and political science as also from law, medicine, psychiatry, non formal education, cooperation, engineering and architecture. In addition the content includes theories of human behaviour, individual and community mental health, personality/treatment theories, social psychology and tests and measurements.

Any curriculum which attempts such a broad canvass can barely take a very cursory look at each topic. It cannot be expected to develop a thorough understanding of the theory and an ability to use it in practice. For example Turner in 'Social Work Treatment' has included as many as fourteen different approaches of behaviour modification alone. If a student is expected to develop an expertise in behaviour modification he should be able to analyse a behavioural problem by using the different theoretical paradigms, be able to decide which approach he finds more suitable in a particular practice situation and accordingly learn to use it himself. This could only be done by extensively going through the each approach, studying the experiences of people having used the approach in practice and understanding the subtleties involved in the process of using a particular theory. Just to cite a simple example the worker may learn the concept of deviance but may not know how to deal with it in practice. Different theories will analyse the phenomenon of deviance from their own standpoint and suggest possible ways of dealing with it. A professional is expected to develop his/her own perspective of different theories and be able to use the insights provided to chalk out a definite plan of action. This requires opportunity for discussing specific cases with the supervisor/educator.

The supervisor/educator with the help of relevant case illustrations help the students to work out the entire process of intervention hypothetically by using different theoretical frameworks or a combination of these. After this initial preparation, the students can be placed in the field for handling cases under strict

supervision. They will be required to document the cases they handle and defend the process of intervention they adopted and evaluate its outcome. Such a rigorous systematic process alone can help them acquire the necessary expertise in developing the level of professional competence they need in application of relevant theoretical concepts in their practice. Obviously a curriculum can follow such an approach if it is focusing on developing professional skills with reference to a particular set of tasks which broadly require a concise understanding on related set of theories/subject matter. Thus if a social worker is generally expected to undertake remedial tasks involving behaviour modification, a curriculum can be evolved focusing primarily on the intervention skills needed for such tasks. However if the same worker is expected to undertake the task of restructuring the society, it would require very different kind of theoretical inputs. Given the time framework of two years any attempt at developing a curriculum which can deliver the goods would be impossible. Hence the curriculum objectives will have to be more specific rather than being too wide.

In most Asian countries the social work education is generally offered at Masters level. Even students with no background in social sciences are eligible for admission. This further complicates the task of curriculum designing. In India few schools offer social work education at undergraduate level but even the existing courses suffer from the dilemma of treating it as a terminal point or as a preparatory stage. It may be worth considering to design a capsule course of four years duration after the school leaving stage. This could however only be done if the employers agree to recruit students having an undergraduate degree. The current practice is a master's degree being the minimum qualification for most of the social work jobs. The four years duration will help in devising a curriculum which can provide sufficient time to strengthen the theoretical base of social work education.

Development of Suitable Literature:

The strengthening of theoretical base of social work practice obviates the need for suitable literature. If a student is exposed to all the social science literature which deals with the theoretical concepts, he is likely to get confused since of late there has been

an abundance of 'theories' postulated by different scholars. Though some may not even qualify for the label of a theory. There are numerous interpretations of the same theory. For example one could find different versions of theory of psychoanalysis or learning theory. One cannot simply choose bits and pieces of different theories and put these together to provide a single explanation. Nor can one confine himself to select one theory for use in his practice. (Fitzgerald, 1978: 3) What is infact needed is to summarize the different theories, attempt a classification for working out a model of practice underpinning the theoretical perspective, and finally indicate its implication for social work practice. For examply Croxen has indentified five broad models for a discussion of various psychological theories.

1. Evolutionary and genetic models
2. Psychodynamic models of personality development.
3. Early experience models.
4. Learning theory models.
5. Phenomenological models.

(Croxen, 1978: 23-25)

Similarly Downes classifies the sociological theories of deviance into;

1. Positivistic theories
2. Strain theories
3. Labelling theories
4. Control theories and
5. Conflict theories.

(Dones, 1978: 70-90)

Both also discuss the implication of these theories for social work practice. They provide a critique of the theory to help social workers avoid the mistakes they are likely to commit if they misinterpret the assumptions underlying a theory.

Mishra(1977) has similarly classified approaches to welfare

1. Welfare as social reform
2. Welfare as citizenship
3. Convergence theory or technological determinism

4. Functionalist theories and
5. The Marxist perspective

Whereas George and Wilding (1976) has categorized the approaches to welfare as;

- a. The anticolonialists
- b. The reluctant collectivists
- c. The Fabian socialists and
- d. The Marxists

Turner has identified ten different approaches of social workers towards theory building, however he favoured the comparative approach similar in some ways to the approach suggested in this paper. (Turner, 1974: 8-11)

Social work educators and practitioners both can undertake this task either alone or in collaboration with fellow social scientists. The summarizing and classification and the model building will always be subject to debate and it should be. It will however lead us in the direction of using theoretical concepts and relating these to our practice.

There has been some notable attempts in the direction, however this should be a continuous exercise. However none such effort has so far been made in the third world countries particularly in Asia. The Asian countries will have to do so with a view to develop their own models of practice keeping in mind the difference in socio-economic, political and cultural situations.

To sum up there is a need for strengthening the theoretical base of social work practice for improving their professional competence. This can be done by narrowing the range of tasks a social worker is called up to undertake. The social work literature dealing with theories need to be further developed.

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SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

A BRIEF REPORT OF THE THREE DAY WORKSHOP

The three day workshop on 'Challenges of Development Emerging Concern of Social Work Education'—began on 21st December, 1986. Mr. Behera while welcoming the guests and participants briefly explained the aims and objectives of NISWASS. Dr. Nayak in his address explained that social work education in Orissa began as a result of NISWASS' experience of undertaking research and action projects particularly in the Tribal areas. The need for committed and professional workers led to the beginning of social work education in Bhubaneswar in 1983. He pointed out that though NISWASS was a comparatively young school but it wanted to undertake a process of clarifying its thinking on many issues including the concept of development, the strategies or models of development, which social workers can use particularly in the context of tribal/rural situation in India.

Prof. Siddiqui, the Director of the Seminar, while explaining the objectives of the workshop said that social work education was struggling with many dilemmas and the purpose of the Seminar was an attempt to find answers to some of the questions which were coming in the way of producing committed professional social workers who could play a useful role in whichever capacity they were employed in different fields—broadly categorised as remedial or developmental. He explained that during the first two sessions an attempt will be made to raise some issues pertaining to social work education. In the subsequent sessions an attempt will be made to depict the tribal situation in Orissa and the efforts made by social workers and others to deal with various problems pertaining to the tribal and other weaker sections.

The workshop then would attempt to draw from these experiences, relevant conclusions to arrive at a better understanding of task and functions, social workers should concern themselves with and accordingly to restructure social work education to prepare social workers for performing these functions. He pointed out the need for making some new experiments and the fact that perhaps the younger schools like NISWASS were in a better position to do that. He also referred to the proposed programme of NISWASS to strive for introducing social work education at +2 level and at bachelors level in Orissa.

The Vice-Chancellor while delivering the inaugural address commented on the useful contribution made by NISWASS in starting the social work education and undertaking research and action projects in the field. He welcomed the idea of starting an undergraduate course in social work in Utkal University but expressed his reservations about introducing it at +2 level.

In the 1st business session after the inaugural Professor Pathak delivered the key-note address. He commented briefly on the historical perspective of social work education in India during the past five decades.

He said that social work education has completed 50 years in India. The present pattern of social work education emerged and has been in existence for about 40 years: generally at the postgraduate level, with a two year programme providing for specialisation: class room instruction or theoretical courses, supervised field work and compulsory dissertation and in some schools block field work of 4 to 6 weeks. There are about 50 schools of social work but none in the north western part (J & K, H.P. and Punjab) and eastern part with the exception of West Bengal. There are more schools in the South and Maharashtra.

There have been two reviews by UGC committee—norms of teacher student ratio laid down but not achieved in practice by most schools. Compulsory dissertation abolished by two major schools during the past 15 years.

During 1970's social developmental perspective was advocated which is now generally accepted by most schools but still to be implemented by many. Currently an UGC sponsored curriculum development centre at T.I.S.S. is engaged in preparing a national model curriculum for social work education at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels.

He pointed out that though social work education was still generally being offered at the postgraduate level but some schools have started an undergraduate programme of social work education and hence there was a need to link the two levels of education.

He pointed out that though the need for making social work education non-elitist and developmental in nature was emphasized but the specific outlines of what is meant by these terms had not been worked out. He also raised the issue of social work educations' capability of preparing agents of social change. Prof. Pathak also referred to the need of giving some thought to the social science content in social work curriculum, particularly with a view to giving it a developmental perspective.

Prof. Siddiqui in his paper on 'Rethinking Social Work Education' pointed out the need for identifying the specific objectives of social work education. He pointed out that the dilemma of choosing between the remedial and developmental perspective has haunted the social workers since the inception of social work education in India and explained the various reasons why by and large social work education has remained largely remedial in nature. One of the main reasons being the marketability of products of social work schools. He emphasized the need for separating the remedial and the developmental functions of social work and accordingly devising separate courses for each of the two categories. He pointed out the need for providing an adequate theoretical perspective to social workers for a more competent social work practice. The need for viewing social work practice from different political perspectives was also emphasized.

Dr. Ramashrey Roy in his talk on concept of development gave a historical perspective of development. He said that development according to Lord Keynes means the possibility of development. There are two concepts in this dictum. The development of any entity is dependent on economic development. This particular view is still predominant today. Historically man was not self dependent and he was considered to be belonging to a higher order. The distinctive thing about this higher order was that there were two basic obligations of man, fulfilment of ordinary life needs and the sustenance of higher order. This notion was rejected in 17th century and since then the fulfilment of needs without references to the higher order is the value that dominates now and

hence the happiness is identified with amassing wealth. It is now believed that if every one minds his own interest, public interest will automatically result and hence the society is seen as an aggregate of self defining subjects. Hence the economic activity becomes central to individual and social development. This leads to autonomy, but autonomy is useless without equality. Along with equality is required efficacy. This leads to a duality in human life. Man as an entrepreneur and a citizen. This equilibrium was maintained by nature as also by rational will, to allow for the individual freedom. Gradually the role of State was conceived in correcting the equilibrium in view of social heterogeneity, economic backwardness and inequality. The State is supposed to hasten the growth of economic development. This has resulted in social relations being made subservient to economic relations. This means people are to be persuaded to accept the goal of economic development and people's energy must be mobilised to achieve this development. We have failed on both these counts. Only three classes have gained in the process, civil and military bureaucracy, businessmen and farmers. Poor people are now skeptical of development. We look at the tribal and rural societies from the dominant point of view of economic development. The social workers therefore have been given the following functions:

1. To carry the message of development to sleeping masses.
2. To implement the Government schemes so that the benefits of development are shared by the masses.
3. To restore the community norm by performing the following:
 - a) To help the destitute
 - b) To help the neglected ignorant sections to overcome their disadvantages.

It is here that the social workers face a dilemma as they are not able to achieve any degree of success in either of the functions. We must therefore look for an alternative model.

During the 1st session on the second day Prof. Ramashrey Roy briefly dealt with the problem of restructuring the social order, this means dispersal of inequality. He pointed out that our society lacks the essential ingredients for democratization. The system blocks the transformation of under-privileged into a political power, through the use of their numbers. What then are its impli-

cation for social work practice? Since the social workers have not been able to achieve much success in their roles as messengers of development and implementation agents, should they undertake the organizing role, which is more than simply playing a mediatory role. This may mean coming in conflict with the State and hence the dilemma.

Dr. Nayak in his paper on the role of social work in the context of the fourth world scenario, said that division of the world into three segments based on either politics or economics was oversimplification of the problem of development, as wide disparities were to be found within a nation State or a society, within the third world. He pointed out that tribal societies have by and large not benefitted by the development plans and schemes undertaken by the government, in fact the programmes have rendered the tribal community totally dependent on government and society at large. The tribals neither possess the capital nor the skills to cope with the schemes of modern development. He pointed out that political freedom obtained by the nation as such has not led to the political emancipation of tribals. He pointed out that 'Oriaisation has blocked the learning process of the tribal child and hence has hindered his development. Thus he showed that so far the development process has not benefitted the tribal groups and hence there was a need for developing a new model of development which he identified as a voluntary model of development. He emphasized that the success of voluntary model would depend to a great extent on the quality of its personnel and hence the challenge of social work education to produce the right kind of personnel. He identified the objectives of the new model as (i) life saving, (ii) adjustive prioritization (iii) neomorphous organization, (iv) neogenetic programmes, (v) an innovative communication, (vi) committed catalyst.

Later on Fr. Petrie narrated his own experience of working with the leprosy patients in Bhubaneswar. Fr. Petrie pointed out that he has taken a decision to work with weaker sections at the age of 16 and then accordingly pursued his education. He narrated the principle of learning to learn.

In the third presentation of the morning Nabor discussed the importance of an innovative approach to communication while working with the tribal groups. He emphasized the importance of reviewing the objectives of communication, by giving exam-

ples from his own experiences of working with the tribals. Some participants questioned the use of drama, dances and songs as medium of communication by social workers but generally it was felt that traditional media could be successfully used for promoting awareness among the tribals. One participant wanted the ideology or philosophy behind the communication, to be specified. Doubts were expressed by one participant about the impact of traditional forms of communication.

Dr. K.S. Chalam in his paper said that literacy rate among the scheduled tribes is very low although the rate of enrolment has increased. He tried to measure the coefficient of equality of education popularised by JP Naik, worked out on the basis of the proportion of scheduled tribe children to the total children divided by the ratio of their respective population and multiplied-by 100. A coefficient of 100 indicates complete equality and any amount less than 100 indicates inequality. He pointed out that the curriculum was urban biased and sanskritised which resulted in the 'dropout' which he thought was 'pushout' of the poor children. He welcomed the Anganwadi school system and advocated the need for educating the parents of the poor children, along with changes in methodology of education etc. He also advocated for special plan for development of schedule castes and tribes. Hostel facilities and remedial classes were some of the other suggestions made.

Some participants pointed out that certain sections within the backward communities have monopolised the benefits. The government shall give attention to this problem. Professor Paramaji pointed out that reservations do not bring down the standard instead they provide an opportunity to the backward sections to catch up with the forward sections. If the children from the backward sections are provided better environment they are able to compete with the other children, but in absence of a proper environmental support merely the opportunity to get admission in a school will not help. It does not result in the equalisation of opportunity. The equality of opportunity can only be established if the end product is same. He pointed out that there were only one percent schedule caste and schedule tribe children in the private schools.

Dr. Koteshwara Raju in his paper on 'Social Work Approach to Tribal Development' pointed out the various concepts of development. He pointed out that development has to be seen not only as economic progress but also in terms of improved quality of life,

cultural regeneration, social justice and cohesion and political awareness and empowerment. He felt that the present policy of tribal development has not yielded the desired results. The primitive conditions of tribal life, their vulnerability to economic exploitation, the existing socio-psychological barriers due to isolation necessitated a cautious and phased approach for the development of the tribal areas. Referring to social work approach he said that the gap between theory and practice has been widening. The change should come from within, the social workers should act as catalysts and stimulators.

Dr. Gandhi Das in his presentation referred to the methodology of social work and a more clear understanding of its application to tribal development.

In the first session on the third day Mr. Jenson spoke about the problems of securing participation of people based on his experiences of providing drinking water facilities in the rural and tribal areas. He emphasized the need for reconceptualizing the concept of community. He found it difficult to offer any explanation for people's attitude of non-cooperation. Hence he advocated the need for developing a more sound theoretical perspective of understanding the dynamics of community participation.

Mr. Illango in his paper referred to the problems of social work education and pleaded for a shift from institutional approach to community based approach in social work practice. He also pointed out that social work education has not made enough effort to identify practice skills and to develop them. He felt that social work education merely lead to observation skills but no practice skills.

Mr. Ashish in his paper referred to the problems of providing adequate field work opportunities to the students in Bhubaneswar. The students are only able to get some experience of rendering direct services but are not able to get an opportunity to practice other forms of social work practice. He felt that the present theoretical knowledge was notable to help the social work educators to provide adequate supervision. He felt that there was a need to restructure field work.

The student participants also commented on the problems they faced in their field work particularly the fact that they were not sure 'what' they should do and 'how'? Some students also commented on the lack of a clear professional identity which created confusion both for clients and for them.

Some participants offered some comments by way of solution of these problems but generally it was felt that there was a need to clarify the field work objectives and provide adequate orientation to students prior to their placement.

Mr. Abrar Ahmad Khan in his presentation pointed out the need for a participatory approach to social work education. He pointed out that education methodology should be learning oriented rather than teaching oriented. He gave the example of using structured exercises in social work education. Some participants expressed agreement and gave examples of the methodology that they were using. A reference to modular forms was also made to augment the learning. Some participants however felt that lecture method was very useful and though participatory methods were useful but they created problems as they were time consuming and the students concern with examination also posed problems. Some participants therefore felt that unless the examination system was changed the use of new methodologies would be difficult.

The concluding session Professor Siddiqui pointed out the need for specific objectives, and deinstitutonalizing social work education particularly for training social workers wanting to undertake developmental work. He further emphasized the need for developing better theoretical perspective by a careful selection of social science knowledge relevant for social work practice. He also emphasized the need for restructuring field work by suggesting concurrent block placements or other suitable modifications in the pattern of field work. He said that by keeping the remedial and developmental objectives separate it would be possible to develop a better curriculum which may result in greater competence of professional social workers.

Prof. Ramana pointed out that we should evolve a model of social work education to reflect a people centred approach. Social workers should protect citizens from exploitations from industry and business and even developmental programmes. People should be organized to protect themselves. Schools of social work have so far not done much to deal with the problem of poverty. A profession wanting to enter the 21st century cannot escape its wider responsibilities. Teaching departments have been content with what they are doing and have alienated themselves from what is happening in the field. They are not aware of field programmes. They should constantly keep themselves in touch with the latest

programmes of development. Thirdly in order to lend more authenticity we should bring in more practitioners in our teaching programmes. They should undertake more action oriented research in order to enrich our teaching. Our bachelors level curriculum is lagging behind. He thought that short term programmes for lower levels of functionaries would be more useful than the three year or two year programmes at the undergraduate level. The environment in social work departments have become un-intellectual hence the discipline does not attract the best students. More interaction with social sciences was needed to enrich the social work education. In most schools of social work, curriculum planning was not given proper attention, it should not always cater to market situation alone.

Prof. Ramashrey Roy felt that there was no dichotomy between remedial and developmental functions of social work, and the two approaches were two sides of the same coin. He thought social workers should learn from experiments such as Swadhyaya Movement in Gujarat.

Prof. Pathak pointed out that there were many varieties of developmental work ranging from family planning to political advocacy. The confrontation is inevitable at the grassroot level and the conflict is more often than not thrust upon people trying to work with people's legitimate needs. He then referred to the problem posed by the director of the seminar i.e. of keeping the remedial and the developmental focus separate in training and felt that there were three types of students wanting to pursue social work education, firstly those who wanted to serve the industry, those who wanted to perform the traditional social work tasks and finally those who wanted to undertake developmental work. He felt that all the three focuses should be kept separate. He felt that it was difficult to have a uniform curriculum for the whole nation as it will pose many problems since the facilities available at different schools and the regional realities show wide ranging differences. Hence each school must adopt its own curriculum thrust in accordance with its own philosophy and resources. Referring to the field work he felt that there definitely was a need to make changes in the pattern of field work and the concurrent block field work, which was used long ago by some schools in US, could be used to advantage in the Indian situation too, particularly as it would help in over-

coming the problem of local placements. He felt that staggering the field work days for different students or increasing the number of concurrent field work days from the present twice a day could be some other alternatives.

He emphasized that social work should not cater to the market forces and should attempt to create its own market where the students can more effectively be employed for developmental purposes.

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